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THE RE-CREATING OF THE INDIVIDUAL

A STUDY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES AND THEIR RELATION TO PSYCHOANALYSIS

BY

BEATRICE M. HINKLE, M.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY

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TO THE MEMORY OF
MY BELOVED FRIEND
CONSTANCE E. LONG, M.D.
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PREFACE

In looking over some old numbers of the *Hibbert Journal* I came upon an essay of Bergson's which coincided so completely in spirit with my own attitude and, I may say, knowledge of human life, gained, however, through the path of experience and study with individuals themselves instead of through philosophy, that I cannot do better than present an extract from it as a preface to my book.

Philosophers who have speculated on the significance of life and the destiny of man have not sufficiently remarked that Nature has taken pains to give us notice every time this destiny is accomplished; she has set up a sign which apprises us every time our activity is in full expansion; this sign is joy; I do not say pleasure. Pleasure, in point of fact, is no more than an instrument contrived by Nature to obtain from the individual the preservation and the propagation of life; it gives us no information concerning the direction in which life is flung forward. True joy, on the contrary, is always an emphatic sign of the triumph of life. Now, if we follow this new line of facts, we find that wherever joy is, creation has been, and that the richer the creation the deeper the joy. . . .

Consider exceptional joys like those of the great artist who has produced a masterpiece, of the scientific man who has made a discovery of invention. We sometimes say they have worked for glory and derive their greatest satisfaction from the applause of mankind. Profound mistake! We care for praise in the exact measure in which we feel not sure of having succeeded; it is because we want to be reassured as to our own value and as to the value of what we have done that we seek praise and prize glory. But he who is certain, absolutely certain, that he has brought a living work to the birth, cares no more for praise and feels himself beyond glory, because there is no greater joy than that of feeling oneself a creator. If then, in every province, the triumph of life is expressed by crea-

tion, ought we not to think that the ultimate reason of human life is a creation which, in distinction from that of the artist or man of science, can be pursued at every moment and by all men alike; I mean the creation of self by self, the continual enrichment of personality by elements which it does not draw from outside but causes to spring forth from itself?

In this book I have attempted to show a way to the beginning of this achievement.

B. M. H.

New York,
June 30, 1923

FOREWORD

This book has been out of print for some years and, when the publishers proposed to give it rebirth, I felt obligated to examine it carefully in order to find if any of the material needed to be modified or replaced. The passage of time since it was written has produced a great change in the public outlook. Many books on psychological subjects and methods have appeared, and people have become conversant with the language and concepts belonging to this subject, as they were not twenty years ago. This has been an education of great importance, for consciousness has been deepened and broadened. Although I have found many stylistic defects in my book, nevertheless its validity remains unaltered, and I hope that it will contribute to a better understanding of the psychological problems of today.

The intensive study of human psychology and practice with large numbers of neurotic personalities has brought me to an acute awareness of the profound underlying need in many of these individuals to find a deeper meaning and a new interest in life.

Innumerable persons who seem to have all the external values of life, satisfactory occupations, ample means for all needs, no family turmoils, nevertheless, feel within themselves, discontent, unhappiness and restlessness, often futility, the reason for which they cannot explain. Some people project these inner disturbances upon any object or situation that can carry the projection. Many of the difficulties of domestic life or business relationships are the result of this mechanism. Those who are in a less fortunate position externally feel that if only they were well situated financially, all of their problems would be solved. This change often happens and the specific situation which seemed to be the cause of the discontent becomes non-

existent. Yet the individual soon finds that his relief is only temporary, and the remark, "it seems so strange that, although we now have more than we ever expected, we are no happier than we were before," is frequently heard. The "eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die," philosophy, or the gratification of the pleasure principle, by which many people attempt to escape from their discontents, brings little satisfaction.

The gaining of a true meaning of life, and the need of the individual to become conscious of his personal responsibility for himself and to find his own direction, is an imperative necessity for many persons today.

Now the fact is, that neurotic, unstable personalities frequently are the ones who possess the greatest creative capacities and potentialities, with an inner unconscious urge for self-development. Their feelings of inferiority, discontent, and futility are symptoms of the neglect of the most important task confronting them, the gaining of a greater human development, and this reveals itself over and over again.

At the present time, after the most destructive conflict our civilization has known, with its aftermath of chaos and pessimism, attention is again focused on the tremendous need for the awakening of each individual to a realization of the little human development he has attained, despite all his culture and idealistic strivings. He is still the instinctual creature who is unable to work out satisfactory relations with his fellowmen, although all his religious and ethical teachings continuously stress this necessity.

Such an achievement demands an inward, individual struggle, a recognition of one's own real motives for actions, why it is so difficult to deal with the other man as one desires for oneself, and the need for the utilization of one's creative energy to re-create oneself. Fortunately, many gain great development through their difficult experiences in life and the attitude with which they are met; however, many are crippled by their experiences and do not understand that we are largely the determiners of our own fate. We have been told to love our neighbor

as ourselves, but the poor quality of our self-love is such that it fails completely in achieving the goal intended.

In view of man's discovery of the enormous power of scientific destructiveness, it is incumbent on the individual, at this moment as never before, to overcome his super-sensitive ego, his pettiness and weaknesses, his self-indulgence or his self-punishments, and to raise himself to the highest expression of his humanity, to develop his own human dignity to the point where he will have regard for the human dignity of all others.

This is the supreme task of each one of us: a creative achievement which bears within itself, simultaneously, the making of a new world and, for the individual himself, the greatest happiness that man can experience.

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NOTE

One of the technical difficulties in connection with a book of this sort concerns the use and understanding of terms. One and the same word is frequently used by both laymen and philosophers with entirely different meanings and even among psychologists there is no complete agreement as to exact usage. I have made no attempt to hold words to one particular meaning, for my main purpose has been to make as objective as possible the moods, feelings and subjective phenomena of human beings and in turn to translate the objective behavior back into its subjective determinents by means of language that can be understood by those who recognize the phenomena discussed.

Therefore in this book I have simply depended upon the context to make clear which one of several meanings belonging to a particular word is intended, for I have frequently employed the same word even on the same page in its various usages according to the sense desired. For instance, the word *individual* is used in its ordinary sense to mean any distinct organism as well as in its specific application to a human being. In addition to this I have used it in a special sense to mean a definite psychic tendency within human beings and as a particular psychic achievement gained through development. Likewise the word *subjective* is used in a special sense as well as in its ordinary meaning. I call subjective phenomena all that which arises within the individual himself and is not dependent upon the object. From this standpoint the images and phantasies belonging to the collective unconscious, although possessing a racial background, are subjective phenomena because they can be known only through the apperception of the subject and always possess an individual aspect.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is the result of an experience of more than twenty years in the study and treatment of individuals suffering from neuroses, and from psychic disturbances for which I can give no other name than soul sickness. Besides these definite sufferers who come for treatment because they are ill, the wide general discussion of psychoanalysis has interested many other persons who, presenting no physical or mental symptoms, desire to avail themselves of the analytic process as an aid in the solution of individual problems, which are the common lot of even normal people. These persons cannot be called neurotics except in the wider significance of the term in which we are all neurotics.

But I found that they, too, were sick souls in spite of the frequently entirely successful fulfilment in reality of their egotistic desires and the satisfactory attainment of a wished-for love object. Although no symptoms had developed, they too were driven, by a sense of inner discontent and incompleteness, to seek some new meaning and direction for life. This dim intuition that in the important psychological analysis lay possibilities of revealing and satisfying unrecognized and not yet neurotic needs, emphasized its value in a service more far-reaching than the tracing down of sexual wishes. The recognition of the individual as the central figure instead of his mechanism, the attention given to his wishes and their sources, the analysis of his behavior and motives, inspired a hope for him that through analysis it might be possible to achieve a new and a better synthesis than had been attained before. In this hope the sincere seeker will not be disappointed.

Psychoanalysis has provided the key which can open the door to the self-knowledge which is the absolute necessity for any further development of the individual. Culture and the

collective methods have done all that is possible. Man has become increasingly self-conscious and, through the new knowledge of himself which science has brought, he can no longer avoid the realization that, from whatever aspect he views himself, he can see only an incomplete and unfulfilled creature.

By those who like to insist that he is but an animal of a different species, it must be recognized that his sorrows and pains, his joys and struggles, have taken him into a class far removed from the rest of the animals and have, at the same time, cheated him of the inner harmony and peace of the animal creature. He is but a crippled animal. Pascal warns against the danger of calling man's attention to his close connection with the animal world without at the same time reminding him of his greatness.

It is this sense in the individual man of his potential but unfulfilled greatness that forces him to become aware of his incompleteness as a human being. It is this state of faulty development of his psychic capacities that psychoanalysis has brought so clearly into view and for the improvement of which, to those interested in and capable of using its method, it offers a technic—an aid toward the conscious development of a greater self.

I am well aware that, in emphasizing the creative and prospective possibilities of the human being and giving to those tendencies an equal place with the crude sexual and egotistic impulses emphasized by Freud and Adler, in the interpretation of dreams, phantasies and neurotic symptoms, it will be denied by the Freudians that my work can be called psychoanalysis at all. Nevertheless, I have claimed the right to use the term psychoanalysis, because no other word so aptly describes the technic employed in dissolving the psychic inhibitions and strictures limiting mankind. It is for the purpose of objectifying this very difficult subjective work and of showing the significance of psychoanalysis for the further development and growth of the individual that this book is written.

The definition of psychoanalysis given by one of Freud's co-

workers in Vienna is: "It is the process of following the sexual libido in its ramifications in the human being to its origins." Certainly if it is the sexual libido and not the individual that is analyzed and treated, then the ideas, work, and deductions presented in this book cannot be called psychoanalysis. Nevertheless, Freud's great contributions form the point of departure for my own empiric work, the testing and evaluating of the theories in terms of their meaning and significance for the individual man as a whole.

Prior to my knowledge of psychoanalysis I had practised suggestive therapy for a number of years and, as far as the cure of symptoms was concerned, the results were unusually gratifying. However, the fact that the human mind is capable of effecting such serious consequences to the individual all unknown to himself (as the amazing cures by suggestion reveal) seemed to me to be something that demanded a serious consideration. Our psychological knowledge of that time threw no light upon these processes. But here was a power possessing a possibility for the further creative development of the individual equal to the disastrous effects produced through mental fixations and faulty functioning.

At this period of dissatisfaction over the lack of a scientific explanation or key to the phenomena observed, Freud's first work, his *Studien über Hysterie,* came into my hands. That was in 1909. Following this I went to Europe to study the new work. In my first discussion on the subject, with C. G. Jung at Zurich, I knew that I had found the key.

At that time psychoanalysis was practically unknown outside of the limited number of physicians, chiefly in Europe, who were interested in the subject. The theories had been violently attacked by many European neurologists, but there were no separate schools and no split at that time in the ranks of its students. My own personal analysis was conducted in the most approved Freudian style, and only through personal experience can any adequate understanding of psychoanalysis be gained. My own modifications and changes in theory,

therefore, and in the use of the technic have been the result of growth and insight gained through experience with human beings themselves.

The split in the ranks of the Vienna and Zurich schools followed the publication of Jung's *Wandlungen und Symbolie der Libido*.[1] At that time Jung had no thought of a definite separation between himself and Freud. The modifications he introduced into Freud's theories were the result of his personal experience and questionings and were not designed to produce the storm that their publication brought forth. But, in his resulting withdrawal from the psychoanalytic society and the definite separation between the Zurich and Vienna groups, I found myself more in sympathy with Jung's points of view and modifications than with the rigid sexual hypothesis of the strictly Freudian analysts.

In the beginning of my analytic work I tried faithfully to limit the significance of the material of my patients to its regressive aspect, but I soon discovered that I was dealing not with human individuals, but with a theory which concerned itself with a single trend of human life. The complex could not be reduced to the simple without doing violence to the totality of the individual himself.

My interest does not lie in the allegiance to or in the maintenance of a theory but, as a physician of the soul, in the service it renders the purpose for which it is created. Therefore I was compelled to follow the creative and prospective tendencies in the human being as well as the regressive and destructive ones.

Although my work is closely related to Jung's, I do not present this book as an exposition of Jung's ideas. Every statement and deduction presented here has been made my own through personal study, testing and observation; therefore it is impossible for me to say what I have arrived at independently, and what is due to Jung. But, while not desiring to hold him in any way responsible for the ideas here set forth,

[1] *Psychology of the Unconscious,* translated by Beatrice M. Hinkle.

I wish to acknowledge the great value and importance to me of his conceptions and his stimulating points of view. Together with those of Freud and Adler they created a psychology which for the first time offered a possibility of understanding the complex psychic processes of the individual and, through this, opened a way for the realization in actuality of that long recognized human need; the conscious production of a new creative synthesis of man by man.

The great problem of humanity as it has revealed itself to me, is the problem of the individual. How can an individual win for himself a greater fulfilment from life? How can he gain possession of those latent functions and attributes which he dimly senses are part of his heritage but which, for the present, exist only as possibilities? He feels within himself the urge and the longing of creation. He reaches out and moves towards the unknown but is at the same time aware of a restraining force, a backward movement, a regressive longing. These are the two great movements in life, the moving forward, the flowing backward. Both are essential and complimentary for the fulfilment of a creative life and for the attainment of any higher human synthesis.

Freud seized upon one of these movements and, in his great work of analysis and dissection, followed back, step by step through the bewildering maze of formations, neurotic, cultural and developmental, produced by the human race, until he arrived at the "nuclear" basis of this movement which he conceived as the explanation of all the creative activity of man; namely, the wish to murder the father in order to satisfy his incestuous desire toward the mother. Under the name of the Œdipus complex, Freud postulates this "monstrous crime" as having actually occurred in the beginning of the race, in connection with a primal father, who jealously drove all the sons out from the family while he reigned sexually supreme among the wives and daughters.[1] Following this original crime

[1] Freud: *Totem and Taboo*, pp. 231-260.

of paternal murder which the combined sons were finally able to commit upon the terrible father, they were overcome with guilt and remorse and ever since that time the race of sons has been expiating its sin. Indeed, according to Freud this crime is the source of the primitive blood sacrifices, the taboos and totemic ceremonies of savage man. Thus the entire culture of the human race has its origin and development in this act, which repeats itself again and again as a wish phantasy in the souls of the succeeding generations of sons, even to the present day where the conflict culminates in various neurotic diseases.

The theory of the Œdipus complex as the chief etiological factor in the neuroses is worked out entirely from the standpoint of male psychology—based on the sexual aggressiveness of the son who, fixated upon the mother, would slay his rival, the father. All the females, in this Freudian phantasy, are represented as remaining passively submissive to the will of the primal father, and no original crime of killing the mother in order to obtain exclusive possession of the father is laid at their door. Nevertheless, because they too develop neuroses, they must in a shadowy way second the crime of the brothers. Therefore, in order to include the daughter who suffers from neuroses at least as often as the son, she is disposed of by simply conceiving the problem as reversed.

Regardless of whether or not we can accept this one-sided and simple theory as an explanation of the complex and profound processes we find in the human mind, there can be no question by any one who has had experience with the analytic technic of the tremendous light these researches have thrown upon the psychic mechanisms and complicated motives and activities which dominate the human being. In following this one path, the regressive and sexual trends of humanity, Freud unearthed material and presented problems belonging to every aspect of human endeavor, dealing not only with the creations of culture but touching that infinitely more difficult and important problem, the creation of a new humanity. Vast fields have been opened for study which will occupy an army of

students and investigators for years to come. Already many widely different disciplines have been affected.

Freud's own personal problem, written large in his work and attitude, was obviously that of the patriarchal father struggling with his sons for mastery; and there are two outstanding figures in the psychoanalytic field who have already braved the anger of the father and ventured to present their points of view, differing from but developed out of Freud's stimulating work and great genius. I refer to Adler and Jung. Both these men were disciples of Freud. They were serious workers in the same field, that of the neuroses and the psychoses, previous to their knowledge of psychoanalysis, and both espoused heartily Freud's new psychological theories and conceptions which for the first time threw a real illumination upon these intricate and perplexing morbid processes.

It was not until after some years of experience and study with the technic of psychoanalysis and Freud's hypotheses that Adler first began to take cognizance of that other great factor of human life, the ego, and to devote his attention to that powerful motive. Freud, fixed on and fighting for the acceptance of his own great discoveries, which were at that time concerned wholly with the sexual trends, could allow no place for, and could grant no importance to the ego in his scheme. But Adler continued to work along this fruitful line, certainly of equal importance with the sexual striving in human life and, following this motive backward, as Freud had done with the sexual theme, he finally arrived at his hypothesis of the "masculine will to power, the virile protest." In his study he separated entirely from the psychoanalytic school, even denying his debt to Freud's findings which he used, nevertheless, under another name, and repudiated Freud even more completely than Freud did him. Thus the features of Adler's psychological problem are clearly delineated and we see here the ancient crude struggle for power of son against father, unrelieved by any mother motive.

Meantime Jung, who had continued a zealous disciple of

Freud, was also at work trying to reconcile certain aspects of Freud's theories with observed facts, psychic productions and phenomena which seemed to strain the rigid sexual hypothesis. He had previously, while under the strong personal influence of Freud, written a paper called *The Significance of the Father in the Destiny of the Individual,* in which he stated that in his experience the father is usually the decisive and dangerous object of the child's phantasy and that if "ever it happens to be the mother, we have been able to discover behind her a grandfather to which she belonged in her heart." [1]

But not many years after that statement, there gradually appeared to Jung's vision, behind the father or even grandfather, the shadowy face of the primary mother. The objective and actual figure of the father, symbol of the harsh and terrifying being, the feared parent, gave way to the subjective silent influence of the loved parent, the mother, which, though less strident and obvious, was nevertheless as definitely real.

This is the problem dealt with in greatest detail by Jung in his book, *Psychology of the Unconscious,* which attributes the dominating power and influence in the child's life to the mother, the original parent. In this profound study of the mother and child relation, the original model for all love, Jung sees in the incest desire, which Freud postulates as the actual longing of the neurotic, only a symbolic expression on the infantile level of a desire to return to the original source of life, to the arms of the mother for rest or to the maternal womb for rebirth. The conflict of man lies in the struggle between these two states, the lure of the desire for oneness with the mother, and the desire and need for a separate life and development. This situation is the source of the incest dread which stands in the way of the former regressive condition.

Jung's development of this point of view shows very clearly that, just as the problem of the father is the great fact of Freud's psychology, the problem of the mother is the essence

[1] Jung: *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology,* edited by Constance Long, pp. 156-175.

of Jung's, with the struggle carried on between the two great forces of love and power.

In his work with this theme, Jung has contributed much of value for the understanding of the development of thought and culture. But, although Jung, unlike Adler, never wearied of giving credit and praise to Freud's great work nor of acknowledging his indebtedness to it, Freud would have none of it, and repudiated completely all Jung's contributions, publicly announcing that they had nothing to do with psychoanalysis (although they had been arrived at entirely through this technic) and that psychoanalysis did not mean any of the things Jung observed and interpreted.

This is the basis of the division in the psychoanalytic schools. Following this, Jung withdrew from any relation with the Freudian school and, plunging deeper into a study of the subjective aspect of human psychology and of the unconscious as its source, he has more and more turned away from objective interpretations and practical personal problems to a study of mythological themes and to the psychological goal of individuation. On this account he is said to be dealing in mysticism and similar fearful bogies. Even if this is true, it will be admitted by the less timorous students of human psychology that mysticism is an actual production of the human mind, and any complete study of the mind embraces this aspect of the subject, as much as anything else. Surely, if some constructive light can be thrown upon this subjective phenomenon, which will render it more objective and comprehensible to the human intellect, a great debt of gratitude will be due to the courage of the navigator who risks sailing this dangerous sea.

Thus we observe in the work of these three men the varied lines followed: Freud sees and emphasizes as the supreme factor in human psychology, the past summed up in the regressive infantile sexuality, with the father as the dominant power and the mother solely as a sexual object; Jung emphasizes the progressive, prospective line, the future, with the

mother as the dominant figure, symbolizing both power and love, life (rebirth) and death (regression), under the symbols of the beneficent and the terrible mother; while Adler stresses the individual as the power—the ego struggles for mastery under the masculine protest—and the psychological condition and arrangement of the body organs as the determiner of his destiny—the present factor which, as Freud says, has no room for love in its scheme.

In this brief summing up and contrasting of the central theme dominating the work of the three outstanding figures in the psychoanalytic field, I have not touched upon the finer aspects of the psychoanalytic work developed by Freud. The mental mechanisms and the dream work, the intricate psychological processes as expressed in wit, in every-day life and in the neuroses, altogether form a unique contribution generally acknowledged to-day to be the most fruitful contribution made by any science for an understanding of human activities. I shall not attempt to give an adequate presentation of this complex material or of the modifications of the other writers. My only excuse for treating of it at all, considering the enormous literature devoted to its exposition, is to enable those readers who may be unfamiliar with the psychoanalytic premises to follow more intelligently the discussions in this book.[1]

The great value of the psychoanalytic technic as developed by Freud is that it brings to light and reveals, both to the patient and the physician, underlying wishes and psychic disturbances otherwise quite unknown. Inadequate reactions to those unconscious wishes desirable and undesirable, produce the symptoms which are substitutes for the real need and satisfaction of the organism. Psychoanalysis demands, not the passive yielding of the patient to the physician such as is required

[1] For a brief but more consecutive account of the development of the Freudian analysis, see the introduction to my translation of Jung's work, *Psychology of the Unconscious.* For a complete exposition, see Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis,* translated by Joan Riviere.

by suggestive therapy, but his active interest and coöperation together with the exercise of all his mental functions, including both his thought and his feeling.

As is well known, Freud's basic conception is that the neuroses are disguised expressions of sexual wishes directed towards the parents and originating in the earliest years of childhood. These wishes are repressed through training but operate so as to unfit the child for an adequate adulthood; the neuroses develop as a compromise formation, and a compensatory mechanism is substituted for the satisfaction of the original desires. In his use of the word sexual Freud gives it a much larger significance than is ordinarily implied in it: he makes it embrace not only all the concrete sexual manifestations but also all those psychic phenomena of an affective nature known as love or affection, regardless of the object upon which they are bestowed or to which they are attached.

The Freudian theory emphasizes the importance of the earliest period of the infant's life and its relation to the parents or those standing in that relation towards him. On them he is completely dependent for the satisfaction of every need and for life itself. There is, therefore, intimately bound up with them, all power for the granting of every need and desire of the young organism. In the beginning these needs are purely physical. Freud sees in the very act of suckling, coincident with its nutritional aspect, a pleasure satisfaction which contains a component belonging not to the strictly nutritive process but to the sexual sphere. He conceives the mother's breast to be the first sexual object of the child. As the child grows, it definitely separates the pure hunger needs from the associated sexual movements which it now pursues for the pleasure in the sensation alone. This is constantly seen in the suckling of the dry rubber nipple which is given to children to quiet them, in the finger and thumb sucking, and in the numerous rubbing and associative actions whereby children obviously gain pleasure and comfort.

All these movements Freud considers definitely sexual. The

difference between them and the definite sexual act as we understand it, lies in the fact that the child has not yet reached the stage of growth which allows these actions to be the preliminary steps towards the complete sexual goal. The acts are complete in themselves and lead to no further end. As the child grows it more and more tends to find pleasure in its own body through the various movements of a rhythmic character such as rubbing, swaying, boring, pulling, and other operations. Because these pleasure activities of the child have nothing to do with any other person, but are concerned entirely with its own body, Freud characterizes them by the word *autoerotic*, a term borrowed from Havelock Ellis. To all these activities and others such as looking, curiosity, love of nakedness, which he calls exhibitionism, Freud gives the name of *polymorphous perverse sexuality*.

With this purely physical pleasure craving, there is, however, a parallel psychical accompaniment of a sexual nature. The mother, originally the object from whom all needs were supplied, now acquires a new valuation. During all this early period of development, the parents play a rôle of enormous importance in the life of the child, whose entire world is bounded by the family circle. Already there has begun that division along sex lines by which the small son becomes identified with the father and the daughter with the mother, so that with the craving for a love object which the psychical and physical development demands, the little son prefers the mother and the daughter the father.

All the primary elements of the psychic organism, love, jealousy, curiosity, hate, etc., have now become manifest and, since the parents occupy the supreme place in the life of the child, these feelings are directed towards them. With his growing desires, comes the demand for their satisfaction and, as the mother is the real source of the gratification of these desires, there is aroused in the small son the feeling of jealousy and anger toward the father in whom he sees a rival for the affection of the mother and whom he would like to replace. This

elementary feeling in the soul of the child Freud calls the *Œdipus complex,* in recognition of its analogy to the tragedy of King Œdipus who was forced by his fate to kill his father and win his mother for a wife. This is Freud's *incest wish* which he presents as the *nuclear complex* of every neurosis. For Freud this attitude of the child is a definite sexual wish of the boy for the mother, or of the girl for the father, a concrete desire, only lacking the quality of consciousness. Some trace of this desire, he believes, can be found in every person. Because of moral reactions, the sexuality of the child manifested in its curiosity and various autoerotic activities, is quickly subjected to *repression* so that the sexual character of the feeling for the parents is not recognized. The resistance which conceals the character of this relation Freud calls the *incest barrier,* a conception which he compares to the incest taboo found among primitive peoples.

According to the theory of sexual development, postulated by Freud, the child normally passes from the stage of autoerotism to narcissism and object love, through the latent period to the second stage of object seeking. This latter is the adolescent period when, under normal conditions, the youth begins to seek for a mate in the real world. If he is successful in this seeking he breaks out of the charmed family circle and leaves his childhood behind him; then his sexual desires associated with his love feelings can be admitted into consciousness. His health and future well-being depend on his capacity to develop these infantile feelings to an adult plane and redirect them toward a surrogate for the beloved mother.

Freud considers that the entire success or failure of the human life is dependent upon how adequately the individual manages his sexual development. The disturbance in the smooth progress of his growth can occur at any stage in the course of development and may produce a fixation at that point, which will reveal itself later in the larger sphere of the adult world. This sexual urge or hunger, which must be freed from the familial objects, Freud calls the *libido.* If it remains

fixed upon the first chosen object so that, when the time of adult sexuality arrives, the young individual is unable to tear himself free, the incestuous bond is deepened, for now the conflict is set up between his psychic love life and the physical demand and his entire future is endangered. That the whole problem is an unconscious one for the individual, who has no insight into why he cannot love or why his love is unsuccessful, does not render it less difficult. Indeed, as the natural repressions deepen with his inability to win his freedom, a feeling of positive enmity or of repulsion towards the parents may develop as a reaction to the opposite feeling which holds him in bondage. The psychic failure is thus projected on to the parents who, in such a case, appear to be the ones who are keeping him from his own life.

This persistence of the attachment of the libido to the original object, and the inability of the adult sexuality to follow this attachment because of the incest barrier, interfere with the normal development of the psychosexual character. Either the normal expression of the sexual urge is repressed altogether or there is produced that great separation between the physical and psychic life which causes the adult to remain in an infantile state towards his sexuality. It is this which plays such a great rôle in determining the instability of the emotional life. This is the condition which so frequently leads into the definite neurosis, and is called by Freud "infantilism of sexuality."

During the investigation of his patients which led to the formulation of his theory, Freud worked out a number of mechanisms which he held were active in the service of the nuclear complex and its offshoots. Owing to the influence of our culture and civilization, sexuality and its importance could not be admitted in consciousness; therefore Freud postulated the conception of the *censor* which was continually alert to guard against the intrusion of any of these disturbing and unwelcome matters. Only in sleep, with the censor off guard, could there be found any hint of the real situation. This was presented in such a disguised form through the medium of the

dream, that a special technic and study were necessary to interpret the dream material and to reveal the hidden secret. Even in the dream, if the desire in the soul of the dreamer threatened to make itself known, the censor would act to protect the sleeper by awakening him at the critical moment. Thus only in the unconscious could the key to the secret be found.

Besides the watchfulness of the censor, Freud also discovered the mechanism of *repression,* a force operating to keep the unpleasant and rejected wishes from invading consciousness. This repression thrusts the unpleasant incident or idea out of consciousness and causes forgetfulness, so that the person is entirely honest in declaring that he knows of nothing troubling him, or that he is in no wise mentally disturbed. This is why it is impossible to deal with these problems except through the technic of dream analysis, which affords an entrance into the unconscious.

Accompanying the mechanism of *repression* and intimately associated with it, is the conception of *resistance.* This signifies a force which not only represses the unpleasant idea or feeling but also prevents its becoming conscious even when there exists an apparent desire or reason for this consciousness. The mechanism of resistance is so intimately bound up with the psychic life of the individual and its protective reactions, that Freud has stated that the technic of psychoanalysis as applied to the individual consists chiefly in the analysis of the *resistances.* With their dissolution the hidden wishes causing the disturbances will stand revealed.

There is another process by which the disowned and unknown impulses or wishes of the individual and their affect find an outlet; this is called *projection.* This means that certain individuals are able to project their own weakness on some one or something outside of themselves. Then they may express the conflict between opposing forces in themselves by criticism and antipathy toward another person or toward an abstract thing.

All this sexual theory of the neuroses and the discovery of these various mental mechanisms Freud worked out quite empirically. Through a special technic he was able to bring into the patient's consciousness many forgotten experiences and also to observe the operation of the various reactions of which the patient was entirely ignorant. This gave him a deep insight into that part of the mind which is unknown to the individual and he called this, therefore, the *unconscious*. In this sense, the unconscious signifies all that part of the mind wherein lies the forgotten incidents and memories, impressions of the senses which, at the time of receiving, he may not even have been aware. There is also contained in the unconscious the many egotistic wishes and desires which our culture refuses to permit in consciousness but which, nevertheless, exert an overwhelming influence on the behavior and activities of life. For the unconscious is entirely egocentric and quite dominated by feeling; reason plays no part in it.

The dream is the speech of the unconscious and, in order to read its secrets, one must be able to translate its hieroglyphics into understandable expression. Freud divides the dream into two aspects. The first concerns the ordinary dream as it occurs to the mind of the dreamer and is told; this he calls the *manifest dream-content*. The second relates to the concealed thoughts or feelings determining the dream; "the hidden meaning which we should come by in following out the associations is called the *latent dream-thought*." In his study of dreams Freud found a complicated mechanism at work, which he called the *dream work*. This consists first in the use of *symbols*, the natural and primitive language of mankind and, therefore, of unconscious thought. They serve the purpose of disguising and concealing from the dreamer those undesirable and unpleasant facts about himself which his culture has taught him are unworthy or sinful and against the intrusion of which his conscious mind would react and revolt. Another process is that of *condensation* through which different elements in the unconscious, all having a common relation to the affect, are

brought together in the manifest content of the dream, thus serving the purposes of economy of presentation. *Displacement* is a distorting mechanism which serves similar purposes of concealment and protection to the dreamer. By this term Freud means the process by which an affect is associated with some apparently minor or actually unimportant incident in the dream, and the actual affective situation or object is passed lightly over as unimportant or insignificant. *Dramatization and secondary elaboration* are processes in the dream-making which will be perhaps more familiar to the average person who thinks upon this subject than the other mechanisms. Dramatization is the process of giving the form, the visual or auditory representation, to the underlying content of the dream; in the success of this expression lies the relief of the psychological tension. The *secondary elaboration* is the work of combining the elements into a whole, and is the change that takes place in the very process of bringing the dream into full consciousness.

Among these various processes of the mind the most important, perhaps, is the phenomenon of *transference* (Übertragung) which plays such an important rôle in the process of the analysis itself. This can be called the bridge by means of which, through the person of the analyst, the individual can pass over to the outer world. In other words, through this mechanism the unconscious difficulties and resistances are thrown on the analyst, and thus they can be worked through and a new adaptation made. After the resistances and projections are analyzed away and the transference is dissolved, the individual is released into the larger world of every-day life, freed from those processes which so largely hold him in bondage and defeat his hope of happiness.

Now all these elaborate mechanisms and instinctive reactions to avoid pain and protect the organism are in the service of two concepts postulated by Freud as the *pleasure principle* and the *reality principle.*

Under the head of the pleasure principle lie the cravings for

satisfaction of all those instinctive desires of the organism which we share in common with all life. It is most easily observed in operation in the infant or young child with its never-ending demands for immediate gratification of its desires. The whole process of civilization is the effort to transform the pleasure principle into the reality principle, or to substitute one for the other. The acceptance of the small loss for the greater gain embodies this idea. The pleasure principle has to do exclusively with the self and has no regard for anything outside the self; it is wholly egocentric.

The reality principle on the other hand, has for its purpose the adaptation of the organism to the demands of life outside, both natural and artificial. It forces consideration of other selves and puts the well-being of society above that of the individual. The child meets the reality principle when he finds that crying does not bring the immediate fulfilment of his demands; when he has to defer to the wishes of his brothers and sisters, and when he must learn to behave in a manner fitting the custom of his society. This hard discipline to which man must submit has been resisted in all possible ways and the most civilized man, often without being aware of it, is still largely dominated by the pleasure principle under various disguises. Freud conceives that it is the interminable struggle between these two principles which has given rise to all man's inventions in his effort to overcome nature.

Thus the two forces of aggression and submission operate side by side. There are very many, however, who can neither renounce the pleasure principle nor make any effort to achieve new or more acceptable conditions. These people retain an infantile attitude to life and the degree to which this condition dominates, determines their happiness and adjustment. The extreme degrees of this attitude are found among the neurotics and failures of our society and also among the most highly gifted individuals of the race. Freud calls attention to the artist as notoriously unable to adapt to reality:

> He is one who is urged on by instinctive needs which are too clamorous; he longs to attain to honor, power, riches, fame, and the love of women; but he lacks the means of achieving these gratifications. So, like any other with an unsatisfied longing, he turns away from reality and transfers all his interest, and all his libido too, on to the creation of his wishes in the life of phantasy. . . . Further, he possesses the mysterious ability to mold his particular material until it expresses the ideas of his phantasy faithfully; and then he knows how to attach to this reflection of his phantasy-life so strong a stream of pleasure that, for a time at least, the repressions are outbalanced and dispelled by it. When he can do all this, he opens out to others the way back to the comfort and consolation of their own unconscious sources of pleasure, and so reaps their gratitude and admiration; then he has won—through his phantasy—what, before, he could only win in phantasy; honor, power and the love of women.[1]

This is, of course, the briefest possible outline of the psychoanalytic theory as developed by Freud through his empiric work.

Alfred Adler has already been referred to as the first of Freud's pupils and co-workers to find difficulty in fitting his observations into Freud's exclusively sexual theory of the neuroses. For Freud, while not denying the existence of the other motives and aims which can cause disturbances, affirms that even when such motives are present he always found the sexual element beneath.

Adler's studies, following the technic as taught by Freud, led him as early as 1910 to see in the ego strivings the chief motive for the conflict, and for the development of the mechanisms described by Freud. To Adler, therefore, *the wish to be a real man or the will to power* is the determining factor and the dominant element of the life. In order to account for this and for the tremendous struggle and conflict which are everywhere manifest, Adler developed his theory of the inferior organs. According to him, the failure of the ego strivings to

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 314.

reach their goal is the determining cause of the neurosis; and the feelings of inferiority in such persons are the psychological effects of actual physical inferiority existing in various organs of the body. The compensatory effort necessary to overcome some organic weakness produces the psychic accompaniment which he designates *the masculine protest.* All the happenings are predetermined towards a definite end, the supremacy of the ego. His theory connects the whole psychological structure with inferior organs whose weaknesses are reflected in the soul and produce the neurotic disorders as well as the culture of mankind.

By Adler, the ego is admitted to have an admixture of libidinous elements; by Freud, sexuality is admitted to have an admixture of ego components. These two workers therefore stand at opposite sides of the personality; for one the ego is all-important, for the other the sexual aims are the determinants of human destiny. This theory of Adler's has been fully worked out and presented in a book called *Über den nervösen Charakter,* published in 1912, and containing much thought-provoking matter.[1]

At about that time Freud's other pupil and friend, C. G. Jung, of Zurich, began to express dissatisfaction with the "nothing but" theory emphasized by all Freudians and to formulate a somewhat divergent opinion. The presentation of Jung's conceptions, however, apart from the psychoanalytic theory and practice of Freud, is not possible; for, instead of throwing aside Freud's large body of findings as Adler has done, Jung's contribution has been a modification and expansion of those theories and a different interpretation of the empirical data. The reduction of all the works of man to a sexual root and the conception of all his endeavors as merely the product of sexual energy repressed by moral education from its natural expression, did not appear to him to tell the whole story. There seemed to him to be some *natural tendency in man himself*

[1] *The Neurotic Constitution,* translated by Bernard Glueck and John E. Lind.

which led to his activities, his monuments and creations, a tendency not depending upon the moral censor or upon the escape from the unallowed sexual wish.

His observations and study led him to formulate what he called the "genetic conception of the Libido." Instead of using libido as a term to signify only sexual hunger or craving as Freud had defined it, he gave to this word a much wider meaning. He conceived this longing, as an urge or push of life, as a psychic force, a primal libido including more than sexuality, and which no expansion of the meaning of sexual would ever adequately express. He saw in the term libido a concept of unknown nature, somewhat similar to Bergson's *elan vital,* a hypothetical energy of life, which is manifested not only in sexuality and the reproductive function but also in various physiological and psychological processes. This life energy or libido he compares to the energy of physics, giving it the same significance in the biological realm as the conception of energy has in the physical realm. Thus Jung conceives of a primal libido which is necessarily utilized in the service of nutrition, of growth, of sexuality and of all the human activities and interests. He postulates a portion of libido as having been permanently desexualized through long ages of adaptation in the service of the function of reality.

This broadening of the libido theory led him to a larger conception of the etiology of the neuroses than the exclusively sexual one of Freud. It allowed him to apply it to those severer cases of introversion psychoses (dementia præcox, paranoia, etc.) wherein the personality is entirely withdrawn from reality and is occupied in those intrapsychic productions which replace reality. It was admitted, even by Freud, that his sexual libido theory, in these latter conditions, was unable to account for the phenomena, unless one allowed the libido (interest from erotic sources) to coincide with the interest in general, or else considered that any great disturbance of the libido can cause a corresponding disturbance in the possession of the "I." It was just the difficulty of this problem which led Jung to the

development of his libido theory which would allow the inclusion of the phenomena observed in the introversion psychoses.

Although Jung recognized and fully admitted the preponderant sexual coloring of the material disclosed in the unconscious, he considered it entirely possible that functional disturbances of various degrees appear in the neuroses which transcend the bounds of the primary sexual wish. Further investigations of the Zurich School, particularly into those types of illness which can be called the introversion psychoses and neuroses, led Jung to the discovery that the phantasy products which take the place of the disturbed function of reality bear a striking resemblance to archaic thought. In other words, a disturbance in the realm of thought adapted to reality produces a regression to an earlier form of adaptation which once was associated with reality; just as the disturbance in the adequate adaptation of the libido sexualis produces a regression to the earlier mode of adaptation, namely, attachment to the parents.

This theory of Jung's that there is a function of reality besides that bound up with libido sexualis, and his extension of the libido theory to include this function, allow a place to Adler's theory of the ego or "will to power" as a causative factor in the production of the neuroses. Thus, instead of asserting that the acceptance of one of these theories necessarily rules out the other, he shows that both have validity and are not really in opposition, but that one or the other is in ascendancy depending upon the type of mechanism operating.

With these modifications of the Freudian libido theory, Jung was led inevitably to the development of their logical implications. Although recognizing in common with Freud and with many other students the primacy of the reproductive instinct in the origin of many activities and interests of man which are no longer sexual in character, Jung repudiated the idea of still calling them sexual expressions, even though their development was originally out of the sexual. He considers their character permanently changed—as definitely as a chemical compound is a new and entirely different product from the original elements

which composed it; also that the product has value in itself and is not merely a substitute for something else, namely, the repressed sexual wish. In this idea lies his conception of the libido's power for transformation. By virtue of this inherent mobility and capacity for change all the great creations and achievements of man have been accomplished.

There is no aspect of the psychoanalytic theories which offers a clearer exposition of the demarcation between the views of Jung and Freud than their interpretation and evaluation of the phantasy function. During his investigation of the psychic products of his patients while developing his libido theory, Jung came to a conception of the significance of phantasy creations and dreams that had not been held formerly. According to the Freudian conception, the goal for the adult is the renunciation of the phantasy world for the world of reality to which it is necessary to bring the whole libido in order to meet the biological and cultural demands of life.

This is the theory, but the facts are that many people never relinquish seeking for satisfaction in the shadowy land of phantasy and dreams. Although they make attempts at adaptation and do achieve it to a certain degree—else life would be impossible—nevertheless they are discouraged by every difficulty that arises and easily turn back to their inner self-created world. Analysis of the phantasies and ideas connected with the parents and early life of the person convinced Freud that very frequently they are entirely subjective and bear little resemblance to the actual past situation. They belong to the realm of shadow. Nevertheless those productions are conceived of as having no further value than the satisfaction of unfulfilled infantile wishes. Jung recognizes the regressive influence that this phantasy world exerts upon conduct and life, but he considers these expressions and apparent desires only symbolic not actual concrete wishes of the individual as does Freud. Jung maintains that they are connected with a more archaic past than that of the individual. This becomes animated and affords material, expressed in old modes of thought and feeling,

which can be utilized for the progressive development of the individual and for new productions of value to humanity.

This quite different judgment of the same material has led Jung to believe that the actual cause of the neurosis is to be found, not in this infantile sexual past—which exists in every person—but in the present time and concerned with some neglected necessary task or biological duty. In other words, the person is confronted with an inner need for some definite action in the real world but, because of the obstacle in the way, he is unable to carry the task through. This obstacle from which the person withdraws may be of an inner or an outer nature. The halting and interference in the path of progression causes libido to be stored up and thus a regression takes place whereby there occurs a reanimation of past ways of libido occupation, namely, those of the child for whom the parents were all-sufficient. Jung, therefore, does not ask from what point of fixation in childhood is the patient suffering, but why just now do the symptoms break out? What is the present need or duty he is avoiding?

I do not want to convey the idea that Jung neglects the sexual implications manifested to some extent in every case, because this would be untrue; but he does consider the human problem contains another element which lies outside the sexual wish on one hand, and the wish for power on the other. Both these theories are purely reductive measures; they each trace back all the creations and activities of man, one to sexual longings and wishes, the other to ego strivings and desire for supremacy. For Jung the question of vital importance is, What is the meaning of the product in itself, whether it be some creative work or a neurotic process? In other words, his real interest lies in the forward striving principle or progressive element of life—the becoming—rather than in the regressive backward movement—the reductive—except as the latter is necessary for the understanding of the process of individual development. Thus in the symbolism of the dream and the phantasy, he considers there is to be found, not only the re-

gressive longing which would resist adaptation to the demands of reality, but also the clear indications of the lines of individual development leading forward, expressed in the archaic and symbolic language which belongs to the unconscious.

This brief indication of the distinctions characterizing the work of Jung would be even more incomplete without reference to a study which evolved from his work with dementia præcox cases, and from his observation of the contrast between them and the hysteric cases. This study is the first serious modern attempt to formulate the observed distinctions in the reactions of human beings in such a manner as to form the basis for a general classification applicable to humanity at large. This preliminary work is contained in a brief paper which was published in 1913, under the title of *A Contribution to the Study of Psychological Types.*

Here Jung refers to the well-known contrasts, in reference to their relation towards the external world, between those opposite mental disorders known as hysteria and dementia præcox. In the dementia præcox patient, the withdrawal of his interest from the real world and the apathetic attitude resulting from that turning away is a well-recognized phenomenon, for which Jung used the term *introversion of the libido.* By this it is meant that the movement of the libido is directed inward and is occupied with the phantasies and desires of the ego to the exclusion of external reality and all else outside of the ego.

The mechanism of the hysteric is exactly opposite, the libido turning outward with exaggerated emphasis towards the objective world, and bestowing excessive valuation upon the object. This mechanism he called *extraversion of the libido,* and he compares these contrasting attitudes to the centripetal and centrifugal movements of energy. The opposite mechanisms in these diseases are continued even when morbid compensation becomes established, for then the hysteric tends to withdraw into himself, concentrating completely upon his symptoms and ceasing to take part in the life about him. The dementia

præcox patient, on the other hand, now projects his egotistic phantasies into the world and, by exaggerated activity and extravagant conduct, forces attention upon himself. The important point to recognize here is the fact that the great contrast in the behavior of these two cases is due to the opposite movements of the psychic energy or libido. These pathological conditions present most clearly two opposite psychic mechanisms which underlie personality and, therefore, suggested to Jung that the same movements in a less exaggerated form can be found in the psychology of normal persons, and that they play a part in forming the diverse reactions and opinions which are so commonly observed.

Further study of these processes resulted in a recognition of the validity of both Adler's and Freud's theories in regard to the neuroses, and in this way he was able to reconcile these two entirely divergent opinions. I shall quote Jung on this point:

> Whilst Freud's psychology has for its predominant note the centrifugal tendency which demands its happiness and satisfaction in the objective world, in that of Adler the chief rôle belongs to the centripetal movement, which tends to the supremacy of the subject, to his triumph and his liberty, as opposed to the overwhelming forces of existence.

Continuing the study of these two movements of the libido, Jung developed a theory of general psychological types applicable to normal people, since all normal people possess to a certain extent both movements of the libido; but with one the accent is on the extraversion mechanism through which his value lies in the object, while the other accentuates the introversion movement which places his value in the subject.

The very great importance and value of Jung's study of the problems of human types has been scarcely appreciated, but for those who recognize its significance as a contribution to human understanding, it will take its place beside the great contributions of Freud, as a distinct and at the same time complementary work.

I

ANALYTIC PSYCHOLOGY

The Development of the Individual

In the beginning of analytic work one is easily deluded into thinking that the problems of the human being always repeat the same simple theme and that this theme is sufficient explanation for the complicated forms brought forth. The simple theme is present, the similarities are beguiling and there is danger of resting satisfied when the various products of the patient—dream, phantasy, or wish—can be reduced to the primitive sexual root or to the egotistic desires. But this is much too simple; later one learns to seek for differences and their meanings and comes to realize that in them lie the individual values and the real key to the particular personality and its possibilities. The modifications of thought and technic, which years of practical experience must inevitably bring to any one who works seriously and studies the data of his experience, have come to me also, and in the following pages I shall try to give an account of what I have found and the conclusions which I have reached.

Many biologists believe that there is in nature an inherent tendency toward a progressive and fuller development. If this is so, and we are all prone to act as if it were, where and how can such a tendency be expressed in humanity except through the individual? We may see, indeed, everywhere, individuals striving to be different, to separate themselves from the crowd, to be unique; and, although this effort is frequently expressed in unattractive and undesirable ways, it does not seem adequately explained by merely referring it to the egotistic "will to power" motive or the autoerotic root. Certainly no one who looks as deeply into the composition of human personality as

the technic of psychoanalysis permits, can fail to perceive a valuable meaning in the variability of and differences between individuals, unless he is committed, *a priori,* to some fixed theory to which all findings must conform.

Man goes through a set of motions to which he has been trained; he tries to adapt to a collective conception of what a human being ought to be; even his thoughts must be pruned to uniformity if he is not to feel himself alien to his group. So we see a vast amount of effort centered around the group demand for uniformity of conduct and for simplifying and obliterating individual reactions. This is the natural effect of the collective tendency—the "herd instinct." Ordinary behavior, as expressed in thought and action, is an attempt to satisfy individual desires and tendencies by means of group values and to substitute group recognition and acceptance for man's greater need of the satisfaction of himself as an individual. How often we hear one who has received the highest approval and honors from his fellows sigh: "It is all nothing and I feel I have missed the real purpose of my life." Even Solomon, at the height of his glory, cries: "Vanity, vanity, all is vanity." Do unsatisfied infantile desires or ever-increasing egotistic longings completely explain this dissatisfaction? Has this cry no deeper meaning?

We are told most frequently that the entire cause of man's sorrows and difficulties lies in the fact that he is in essence no more than a primitive egotistic animal in constant conflict and struggle with, or in submissive subjection to, the social laws and traditions which surround him; a creature striving always to escape from the bondage of civilization in order to revert to his primitive or infantile state. It seems to be forgotten that man himself has produced the laws and traditions of his world; that he himself has created the bondage from which he suffers. He carries within himself the social imperatives, the so-called herd instinct as well as the individual tendencies; therefore it would seem necessary to seek a somewhat deeper explanation of his dilemma. To say that he is in conflict with the outer

forms and traditions imposed upon him is to state only the obvious part of his problem; to assert that by throwing these off he would become a free and happy being is certainly not to offer the solution.

For, even though these social bonds originated in an outer necessity forced upon man by his physical need, he has gradually produced, through his slowly increasing development and self-consciousness, an inner necessity for discipline and organization of impulse—a psychic need that operates for many more powerfully than any outer pressure and provides the real basis upon which all true individuality and freedom can be built.

It may well be that, in order to help himself in his struggle to overcome the purely instinctive tendencies common to humanity in general and in certain respects to animals as well, he created his traditions and laws in response to an unconscious necessity that his inner tendencies become exteriorized and forced into objective forms. He provides a conscious external law or rule to which he can cling on his long journey toward a further development; much as, when climbing a steep, pathless mountain, one digs standing places at intervals where pause may be had without danger of slipping back.

But now he finds himself caught and held by the very device with which he sought to save himself—the external world of his creation. In short, through the mechanism of projection, he has merely transferred his servitude. His inner collective unconscious processes are given an outer collective conscious form, and we see him still struggling with the same bondage whether it is manifested in organized collective law and opinion or in his instinctive psychic processes.

Man is not a simple being but a most complex aggregate of strivings, tendencies, desires and impulses; to postulate him as swayed solely by egotistic desires or sexual cravings is to miss the real aim of the being as a whole. He bears within himself all the potentialities of individual development; the future claims him as well as the past. However lowly his beginnings

were, he has now become a highly organized being with desires and yearnings which cannot be satisfied by the fulfilment of any one primitive instinct. May it not be his latent unfulfilled possibilities which produce his disturbances and dissatisfactions? Why is it that the ideas of freedom and liberty have always been those nearest to the heart of man? It is a psychological truism that the value and meaning attached to an object or idea is in direct relation to the inner need. This inner need finds its expression through symbol formation. Man in bondage must worship freedom.

In the last analysis, man's great conflict lies between his collective or herd nature and that driving individual impulse which carries with it the necessity for individuation. The important factors lie in the differentiation and the reconcilement between these two antagonistic impulses; between man struggling to become greater man, an individual distinct from the herd and, at the same time, to be one among other men.

It is the differences as well as the similarities among men which interfere with smooth adaptation and which are a source of endless conflicts. Man attains a satisfactory life and produces a harmonious functioning of his being just in so far as he brings his own unique gifts to fruition not only in the form of works but as inner personal achievements. I have long been convinced that the cause of some of man's greatest fears, the fear and dread of death, for example, is to be found in the deep sense of his failure to fulfil himself adequately as an individual and to develop his inherent capacities to their fullest. It is quite thinkable that one who has developed his own potentialities, has brought into activity his particular manifestation of the creative tendencies which lie in every one and of which he, however vaguely, is aware, would feel himself accomplished, satisfied and ready to meet death as a friend. Then would he arrive at that Free Death of which Nietzsche writes: "I praise unto my death, free death, which cometh because I will."

In every adult and creative personality there is an amount

of energy (libido) over and above that which can be applied to adaptation only or to the external demands of life. Biologists call attention to the tendency to excess which is found everywhere in nature; even in the defensive reactions of the cells we find a proneness to overact on stimulation. In injury of tissues the immediate response to repair is generally greater than is actually necessary for the healing of the injury. In all persons this may be noted but in some the response is very great and can produce a hyperplasia of tissue known as keloid. This is a process occurring on the physiological level and the same phenomenon is present in the psychological realm. There is an excess of energy which produces over-intense psychic reactions, but which also may be used for new products free from the control of a rigid determinism.

This excess of energy resists all efforts merely to conform or adjust to what exists. It occupies itself in phantasies which may be of a regressive or progressive character, according to whether or not the individual has found his way to external reality and has developed a method or technic by which he may utilize these phantasies in a new creative product, a new reality, to be added to the culture of the world.

We know that the more completely attention and effort is focused upon adapting to, accepting and dealing with what already exists, the less libido there is for phantasy which is the mother of all new productions. It may be affirmed that the more perfect is the adaptation and occupation with what exists, the more imitative and the less creative is the personality. But even with such persons the libido cannot be utilized entirely in reality and in them we very often find a childish form of pleasure gain which is quite inconsistent with the rest of their lives.

In human beings of all types, however, we find a large amount of libido which cannot be used for external adaptation under normal conditions of life; which, moreover, is not used in any way except regressively, in primal indolence, in childish activities, wishes and phantasies. It has never found its way into the possession of the personality; consequently the indi-

vidual is hampered and often dominated by this unutilized libido. The neurosis and symptom formation is an abortive effort, a substitute for the needed self-direction which the individual has not achieved.

The neurotic appears to be under a compulsion of nature to utilize an amount of this unadapted libido not only in greater effort for adaptation to reality, but also in new forms manifested not only in cultural products but in self-creation. He is under a necessity of adapting to two worlds and of producing finally a synthesis, and the failure to achieve this will render inevitable the occupation of his libido in childish regressive sexual and egotistic forms. For the human being is a creative animal who must adapt to his inner as well as his outer world; a portion of his libido has been transferred to the service of cultural creation; another portion belongs to reality adaptation and to biological reproduction, which is also reality.

It is important to make these distinctions, since the libido destined for cultural purposes cannot be forced into adaptation to the already existing reality except at a great loss to the personality. It is libido sexualis, unadapted to and in excess of the ordinary sexual aims, which is the motive power in all forms of cultural creation of whatever variety. The normal sexual act belongs to the function of reality and its biological significance is the creation of a new life. This is nature's method of creation in all of her varied forms and it is the model for all of the specifically human creative activity. Therefore, although the unadapted libido reveals itself in never ending sexual symbols and sexual activities, its real aim is not the simple gratification of physical sexual desires and wishes but the higher purpose of a creative process.

By this I do not mean that every one with unadapted libido sexualis must necessarily create some definite, concrete object of either artistic or utilitarian value, although I believe that many more have this capacity than is realized at the present time. The development of one's own psychic functions and the effort and technic involved in attaining a greater conscious-

ness and in the building of a mature and more highly individuated self utilizes a creative activity of the first order. Such a task is a necessity with many persons even though unrecognized as such. Desires most certainly have their seat and origin in the bodily functions, but when this is said many appear to think there is nothing more to say. They forget that in man, through his power for symbolization and representation in thought, these desires become changed and separated from their physical bases. They are thus transformed into independent psychic entities which demand satisfaction in an entirely different realm, quite apart from actual physical needs.

When such an organic and fundamental need as the taking of food operates through psychic causes, independent of the organic nerve supply, it certainly is not strange that the sex impulse, which does not primarily involve danger to the life of the individual, should be subject to numerous and varied applications and transformations quite apart from its original purpose and without the individual's becoming abnormal. Hunger is the only other basic craving analogous to the sexual instinct but, because its major purpose is to serve the individual organism instead of the race, it can be considered as appertaining more particularly to the ego. These two basic impulses, however, can become intermingled and transposed, so that eating, instead of merely serving the biological interests of the organism as a whole, can be a source of sensuous indulgence to such a degree that it can be said to be sexualized. It is probably this condition that Freud makes use of when he so universally interprets eating in dreams, to mean sexual hunger. But it also has a definite significance for the ego, which is as valid as the sexual interpretation. Hunger, however perverted and disturbed, is restricted to its own organs and its aberrations affect the individual component rather than the collective one.

But the sexual instinct, though possessing the same general fundamental nature as hunger, is distinguished by its lack of

restriction to any particular organ of the body and by its power to utilize all the senses in its service. Hence this instinct can manifest itself under all manner of forms and, instead of being confined to the genital organs, is capable of making use of all parts of the body to satisfy its cravings, as well as of various objects outside the body which serve as stimulators and gratifiers of its desire.

It is this extreme variability and lack of fixed goal of the sexual impulse in its earliest manifestations which Freud has emphasized. This is carried to the greatest degree in man, showing itself in sexual perversions and inadequacies as well as in all the valuable forms of his cultural creations and productions. It is this character of libido sexualis which is responsible for man's glory and for a large part of his shame. Freud himself calls attention to this characteristic:

> Perhaps even in the most abominable perversions we must recognize the most prolific psychic participation for the transformation of the sexual impulse. In these cases a piece of psychic work has been accomplished in which, in spite of its gruesome success, the value of an idealization of the impulse cannot be disputed.[1]

Havelock Ellis also refers to the same subject in his discussion of erotic symbolism:

> The phenomena of erotic symbolism can scarcely fail to be profoundly impressive to the patient and impartial student of the human soul. They often seem absurd, sometimes disgusting, occasionally criminal. They are always, when carried to an extreme degree, abnormal. But of all the manifestations of sexual psychology, normal and abnormal, they are the most specifically human. More than any others, they involve the potently plastic force of the imagination. They constitute the supreme triumph of human idealism.[2]

[1] Freud: *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, p. 24.
[2] Ellis: *Erotic Symbolism*, p. 114.

The fear, shame, and loathing which, according to Freud, form the resistances interfering with the sexual impulse in man and which have prevented him from manifesting his sexuality simply and naturally according to his desires as animals do, all belong to the great category of the ego instincts. It is only in the higher animals that the instincts of shame and loathing come into operation in any definite way observable. But in these animals, dogs, horses, the ape family, both shame and loathing are distinctly observable although entirely unconnected with the sexual activities. They are manifested naturally, without training, in dogs who have been worsted in fight or who detest some other animal or article of food or condition of life forced upon them. In man these instincts are transferred to the sexual sphere where they appear to operate as a psychic inhibition, in place of the restriction placed upon the animal by nature which confines its sexual activities to a rutting season.

The great distinction between man and other animals is nowhere more marked than in the sexual sphere. The factor of periodicity which holds almost exclusively in the animal world,[1] the absolute control of the sexual activities by the female and the strict confinement of these activities to their biological purpose instead of for individual pleasure, all contribute to a difference the enormous importance of which cannot be overestimated.

It is inconceivable that this freedom from the confines of periodicity and its consequent biological determinism, was gained by man with no other purpose than the winning of increased sensual pleasure. We find no evidence that nature is concerned primarily with the pleasure of her subjects, pleasure appearing only as an aid to her real aim. We do find, however, evidences of a law which we call evolution and development running through all living things and therefore when, in the functioning of man's sexual impulse, we find such a difference from animals and at the same time see the multi-

[1] The exception is found among the higher apes.

tudinous forms of the unique culture he has created, it does not seem illogical to think of one as bearing a positive relation to the other. From this standpoint might we not consider that not only the shame and loathing postulated by Freud as the great resistance to sexuality, but also the moral reaction and struggle against it which has culminated in the puritan excess of our epoch, were born out of an inherent need of man to protect and discipline himself against the danger of succumbing to the domination of his sexual desires.

Through his organic sexual freedom, man possesses the unique power to create his own development but he also possesses the dangerous freedom of the unbridled use of libido sexualis in the sterile pleasures of the moment and, as a consequence, the possibility of the prostitution of his greatest value. Thus the principle of individual preservation in its more complex form could express itself through the revolt of the ego, in shame, loathing and fear, and the sexual restriction which has characterized the last two thousand years may have perhaps a direct relation to the enormous cultural progress in thought, in art, in science and mechanics which has characterized this age.

Freud cautions against "confusing sexuality with reproduction" [1] and he deals with sexuality in general altogether from the standpoint of the individual organism and as if it had no significance beyond that of pleasure. It is true that in practice human sexuality appears to have little relation to the biological purpose of reproduction, and the real creative function of the sexual impulse seems to be ignored and its use confined mainly to personal gratification. For masculine psychology this is undoubtedly the dominating aspect, but half of the world possesses feminine psychology and for this half the major aspect of the sexual function is unquestionably its collective significance, the biological purpose of its existence. The revolt, indeed, of the modern woman against her ancient destiny, the sacrifice of herself as an individual for the sake

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (Riviere), p. 262.

of the race, is an effort to free herself from the collective bondage in which she is held by nature, and is part of the individualistic struggle of our time. However, in practically all persons, the conscious attitude and behavior imply that the sole meaning of the sexual impulse is for the pleasure of the individual, without regard for the race or for any other creative purpose.

But psychoanalysis is built entirely upon the theory of unconscious motives and purposes, different and antecedent to those known by man in consciousness and upon which his present conscious manifestations and symptoms rest. Logically, therefore, in relation to a function so complex as human sexuality, the unconscious element cannot be arbitrarily disregarded. One must follow the impulse in the individual backward to that union seen everywhere in the animal world between the sexual instinct and the reproductive purpose. As far as nature is concerned, untouched by the will of man, these two are one; or at most, sexuality is merely an incident in the reproductive cycle. Certainly it did not arise independently and purposelessly or merely to give pleasure to the individual organism, but as the mechanism of the creative function by which life is perpetuated. Therefore it can hardly be maintained that the complete separation of reproduction and sexuality exists in the unconscious of man as it appears to exist in his conscious attitude. On the contrary, this purposeful association is just what we do find. It is this factor which makes it possible and necessary to interpret even manifestly sexual material of dreams and phantasies from the teleological standpoint, without ignoring the always possible significance of this material as an expression of simple desire for physical gratification.

Granted the lure of sexuality for the individual pleasure of the ego, nevertheless the revolt arises, for the power of this impulse is so great that it tends to enslave the ego itself. This dimly perceived danger underlies man's revulsion against sexuality and its consequent repression; it caused his projection

of the evil upon women as the origin of his enslavement; and this danger with the revolt evoked is the real factor responsible for the great sexual conflict in the human being.

The struggle lies between the desire of the ego for the preservation and development of the individual and the collective urge of sexuality. In simple terms self-conscious man struggles between the sexual instinct, which is in the service of the race and is the basis of the social and altruistic feelings, and the ego, which is concerned with self-preservation and enhancement (i.e., the individual's sense of himself as a unit). These are the two great primary facts of life to which all instinctive tendencies are subservient, but they are far from simple; they involve the determination of the character and the development of the total psychic entity. Jung expresses the great contrast between the collective and the individual tendencies of the organism when he says: "The ego is all barriers; instinct is without limits." Practically it is impossible to separate sharply any particular tendency into a solely collective function or an exclusively individual one, for both aspects are present under one form or another in everything.

The sexual impulse and the feelings born out of it belong essentially to the collective aspect of life. Its fundamental purpose and meaning is creation whether of a new life or of a new work; both belong to the world. Woman knows this well and bears evidence of her individual subordination to race purposes the greater part of her adult life. The sacrifice of individual ambitions and even life itself for the sake of those others whose lives are dependent upon her, is a well-recognized and much lauded attribute of her sex. Bound to earth through her organism, the creator and bearer of the race, she has little libido left for other non-biological forms of creation which have been the particular production of man. It is the possession of woman by the race instinct that renders her the collective being that she is and creates the psychological difference between her and man, the natural individualist.

In contrast to the sexual impulse the ego considers every-

thing from the standpoint of the individual organism. It jealously guards, defends, and protects the individual and his rights, and makes use of all that can enhance him. It values everything from the standpoint of its own welfare. It strives for power and supremacy and desires to assure an independence to itself.

There is, however, paradoxically, a collective character to this function also; while man has to the greatest degree torn sexuality away from its biological and racial purposes to use it for individual gratification, he may be, nevertheless, largely dependent upon the outer group for his ego satisfaction. We call a person collective, in contrast to individualistic, when his ego can feel satisfaction and comfort only if bathed in the warmth of his fellow beings. Such a person, to feel secure, must have the support of others; he cannot conduct himself according to his own needs or think his own thoughts without first assuring himself that others approve. His ego has achieved no independence and does not recognize itself apart from the herd or from its collective representations; it is in sensuous relation with its fellows.

In a condition of nature and from the standpoint of the primitive, man is essentially a herd animal, responsive to his fellows, easily influenced, suggestible, dependent upon their approval, and dominated by the group or mass mind with which he is in a state of identity. But out of this strong collective condition arises another attitude antagonistic to it, which we call the individual or egoistic tendency. Many modern writers have noted that our age is characterized by an intense urge toward individualization as opposed to that other attitude of dependency upon collective life, and countless persons are entirely aware of an inner need and striving for the development of an independent attitude. Coincident with this there has never been a time in the history of humanity when man has shown such an actual and external dependence upon his fellows. The production of the machine and the growth of science, with their united development of an intense specializa-

tion, have taken from man the possibility of any external independence. No one to-day has the power or knowledge to complete anything independently of others; all are only parts of the great structure man has built up, each one able to contribute only a small portion to the whole. This condition is so marked in our age that, psychologically, it can be considered a complete objectification of modern man's inner dependent state; the projection into actual form of the general collective psychology man possesses when in a state of nature (the *participation mystique* of Levy-Bruhl). One phase of this modern collectivism is that movement called social service which now occupies us as never before. Social service is a positive answer to the question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" and affords an indirect ego satisfaction for many people. If we believe in evolution this condition of external interdependence, although having its analogy in the condition of the most primitive life, must be recognized as a phase on a higher level preliminary to a still further human development. This situation, because extreme, would naturally, according to the law of compensation, bring up its opposite, the development of an intense hunger for individualization. This hunger is the special psychological characteristic of the present day.

It is conceivable that man's separation of the sexual impulse from its biological purpose and his use of it freely for pleasure apart from purpose could have been the first step in the separation of himself from other herd animals. May not this change mark the beginning of man's possible development toward an individuated being—one who does freely and willingly, instead of under compulsion, that which he must. For this changed condition in relation to sexuality is an actual evolutionary transcendence of the collective power of nature. Man's detachment of the sexual impulse from purely biological purposes and its transference to his individual service rendered possible the use of the sexual libido for non-biological forms of creation —for the production of the various forms of culture which he

has achieved. He thus became the rival of nature and now aspires not only to equal her but to overcome her. However, the coming into consciousness of this intense longing for individualization affords an opportunity for the observation of the behavior and reactions of the ego in its naked state. Its unlovely and crude character outrages all that our culture has taught us is desirable and provokes revolt in all finer types of people. But only through the undisguised functioning of the ego and the actual recognition of its character can there be any possibility of individual transformation and development.

Psychologists have generally recognized that instincts possess a capacity for modification and transformation, and this must include the sex instinct. This instinct indeed has undergone a tremendous modification in man's unconscious use of it for his own unique creations. Freud mentions this property of modification in connection with the sexual instinct, but in his theory and practice he seems to consider only the original goal of gratification as the real inner demand in the unconscious; the individual is always harking back to the pleasure aim—an aim denied him by his cultural development. In consequence of this denial, Freud holds, the repression of the desire takes place which then finds expression in a substitutive form, through sublimation in the form of socially acceptable activities, or in neuroses.

This as a total explanation of these matters is one to which I cannot subscribe, for I have found unmistakably that there exists in man not only these unredeemed "evil wishes," whether of sexual or egotistic character, but a very real inner urge toward a greater development and a more evolved personality—a creative urge not only to produce children and culture, but a finer and more highly evolved individual. Man possesses, independent of any frustrated pleasure aims, the capacity for individual development and the need for its fulfilment, as definitely as he possesses the physiological sexual desire. The neurotic symptoms and attitudes, even though capable of being

translated into substitutive infantile sexual acts or crude egotistic wishes, are themselves a product of the creative impulse which has failed of its goal and is arrested in this futile and unsatisfactory form. The varied aspects that the neurosis assumes—hysterias, obsessions, introversion neuroses—are determined largely by the psychological type of the individual and the stage of development attained by his psychological functions; the symptoms themselves mutely express the urgency of the individual need and indicate the particular function or tendency which is motivated in this inferior form. It is well recognized that we have an animal ancestry and a physical organism which functions similarly to the animal's, but the immense distance between the animal and the human justifies us in looking forward as well as backward, and asking: "What is the further goal, the real intent and purpose of the human individual as a whole?"

It is the forward urge toward a greater development, inherent in the human being though frequently not at all recognized, that is called by Maeder and Jung the *prospective aim.* When one discovers, in the dreams and phantasies of an individual, symbolic representations of the problem disturbing him and indications of the inner requirements necessary for further development, the meaning of the movement which has been side-tracked so ingloriously in the symptom formation becomes clear. Even though these symptoms disguise some infantile performance or merely symbolize some crude functional activity, it is not adequate to say that this expresses the real wishes of the individual. If it were possible for him to remain at an inferior level he would not produce the disturbance or the symptoms; his inability to move forward freely within himself according to the necessity of his inner demands is the cause of his unhappiness and depression. When the obstacles to this forward movement are removed, when he is able to achieve some progress toward the inner goal of his being, then his neurotic symptoms and his psychic disturbances disappear. Again and again I have found that even the ex-

ternal difficulties, which often seem insuperable and upon which so frequently the individual projects the cause of his disaffections and incapacities, melt away like a mist. The same people are contacted, the same external difficulties exist, but they no longer bear the same meaning or value.

Steckel states that "the neurotic is a retrograde type. He represents a conquered stage of human evolution." Yet this retrograde type is actually the creator and producer of the greatest values of humanity! This is curious reasoning, that out of retrograde and inferior types comes all that is of supreme worth for the rest of the world. Unquestionably there are many neurotics who are retrograde types; just as unquestionably many neurotics are superior types. If any generalization on the subject is permissible, my own experience has taught me to regard neurotics as individuals in whom the greatest possibilities of a higher evolution exist. They may not attain it; they may sink into and be fixated upon retrograde and infantile states; but if culture ever achieves anything superior to our varying standards of normality—and opinions of what constitutes normality are constantly changing—it will be the neurotic who will lead the way, who will be the one to create an inner morality and a stable transformation of instinct into higher psychic forms. This higher development of humanity is possible only through a greater self-consciousness and this, to a certain degree, already characterizes the neurotic and indeed produces, as its major symptom, the sense of guilt to which Freud refers.

Freud has postulated a hypothetical murder of a primal father in the far off beginnings of humanity as the origin of the sense of guilt weighing heavily on mankind. But the origin of this guilt, which embodies the idea of original sin, need not be sought in the assumption of such a concrete deed. A psychological condition which can be observed in many persons, as well as in our own children to-day, provides an explanation quite as definite and far more conformable to reality than the postulation of a crime in that far off time, the stigma

of which is inherited down to the present day. No child not yet awakened to a full self-consciousness has any sense of guilt but, when once this self-awareness has arisen and the original harmony of nature has been broken, then the sense of guilt arises.

Great differences exist among young children in the degree as well as in the length of time after birth in which any real self-consciousness develops. However, it is a phenomenon which lends itself to careful observation and can be studied, both in children and in many adults. For it is a mistake, leading to many errors, to assume that all adult persons are more than superficially self-aware. I have known men and women who have never been awakened, who have remained comfortably and happily inside life, ignorant of pain and struggle, with a most limited consciousness of self. For them the moral conflict has never begun; they have remained like little children, unashamed.

In the great myth of creation, the Paradise story, the origin of the sense of guilt is symbolized. In the garden, surrounded by all beauty and pleasure, man and woman walked naked and happy for, like the animals, in whom morality does not exist, they *knew not themselves* and *were not ashamed*. Only when they ate of the fruit of the tree of *knowledge* of good and evil did they become self-conscious and feel shame and guilt. The neurotic possesses an intense self-consciousness and is quite aware of his ambivalent emotions and feelings. It is this great rent in the animal harmony of life wherein lies the origin of his sense of sin.

The incest phantasy and its companion, the phantasy murder of the father, which together comprise the Œdipus complex postulated by Freud as the nuclear complex of every neurosis, are in themselves supreme symbols of the human struggle for power and for ego satisfaction in its earliest form. Freud himself has pointed out that the first relation and affection of the child for the mother is based on the satisfaction of the ego—if it is possible to postulate an ego at this early stage before

any psychic integration has taken place. Certainly this libido attachment to the mother, either actual or ideal, has never been lived through adequately by many persons, women as well as men; and among these many give no evidence whatever of neurosis or of unstable neurotic personalities. As a matter of fact, the early relationship of the child to the mother is utilized as a symbol of the greatest significance for further individual development. For Freud, this means only a concrete incest desire. Jung has postulated it as the longing for rebirth, the desire for a necessary psychic birth, which uses the symbols of physical birth to represent the psychological need. To place the emphasis on any meaning for this phenomenon other than that of the aspiring and evolving ego of man, seems to imply a disregard for the actual facts of our cultural development which a close study of the history of the human race clearly reveals.

What are these facts in the long history of man? First: *the child's dependence upon and submission to the female, the mother, his first supreme authority,* to whom he is bound by love based on the satisfaction of the ego; second: domination by the male,[1] the father, who symbolizes the external collective power of the family or tribe and who enforces his authority through fear.

In the existence of the patriarchal system we find the strongest motives for secret enmity and rivalry on the part of the son whose developing individual tendency was interfered with and inhibited. Force breeds force and, as our whole world system is built upon the masculine symbols of power and force, the child feels not only the pressure of the actual experience with the father, but the still more powerful pressure of the collective attitude and tradition developed through the ages. Wherever discipline is enforced through fear from without, there arise hatred and revolt against both the coercion and the coercer and, at the same time, respect and often reverence for the

[1] Compare Hartland: *Primitive Paternity;* Payne: *The Child in Human Progress;* D. G. Brinton: *Races and Peoples;* and others.

stronger power. When the mother exercises this authority and power through force in the masculine way, while the father presents the more tender maternal qualities, we can then see the hatred and desire to kill—the child's only mode of reacting against the superior and to him inimical force—transferred to the mother by the boy as well as the girl.

The ambivalence of the human emotions is revealed nowhere more clearly than in these two psychic reactions common to the majority of persons. The individual desires and needs, on the one hand, external discipline, in order to produce an integration and coördination of the separate conflicting tendencies in his psyche; on the other hand, his ego striving towards individuality, self-assertion, and self-discipline resists and hates any coercion. The recurring phenomenon of this struggle is observable in the majority of children. Expressed in simple physiological terms, the resistance is the reaction to the distress felt when the direct aim of any impulse is thwarted and restrained. As a result of inhibition of impulse, pain and restlessness arise and the attempt to attain the release of tension producing comfort and pleasure is the basis of all the strivings of man. But this physiological explanation is inadequate to explain a complex and highly evolved phenomenon; it entirely ignores the particular significance of the new and more completely organized entity, possessing its own needs and modes of procedure.

To postulate the sole aim of this tremendous struggle as a desire on the part of the son to win the mother as a sexual object is to ignore the real aim of evolving humanity. The winning of the mother certainly does signify to the son the actual final replacement of the father by himself. It is the triumph of the oncoming generation, for then he occupies the same position of power and authority toward the mother-wife as the father possessed. He can overcome the father power by a definite struggle with him or, in surrogate form, through hatred and death wishes directed against him. But the maternal power cannot be overcome by these means; for this

bondage is an inner one and involved with a physiological life process. Not fear imposed from without, but love remaining fixated at the childish stage of his development and involved with the tender care and love bestowed upon his infant helplessness, holds him in inner subjection to the mother; therefore, to win his freedom from her, he must needs exercise his masculine power through assuming the father's rôle.

How to accomplish this is the great problem, for here the incest barrier operates. Because of this barrier the son is prevented from gaining domination over the original woman, the mother, and, at the same time, from bringing into a closed connection, through their meeting in one object, the ego strivings and the love and affectional elements primarily attached to the mother, at which point all development would cease.

Thus the problem is thrown from the objective into the subjective realm and the struggle becomes a psychic process within the individual, having nothing to do with the present objective situation. In this manner the sexual impulse itself is raised to the realm of the symbol and, for humanity in whom creativeness is the never-ending goal, it is a symbol of the highest significance and value.

One is forced by analytic work to a realization that the representations of sexual activity and desires are themselves used as symbols by the human mind to indicate the new goal—the creative urge toward the fulfilment of a necessary psychic development and attainment, which all the physical gratification in the world can not satisfy. Just as men use their sexual prowess and achievements as a measure and symbol of their masculine strength and power on the physical plane, so the unconscious uses the sexual symbols as the language in which to express capacities and potentialities on the psychic plane. Any neglect of either of the dual aspects of life must result in a crippling of the individual. Certainly a physio-psychic organization is necessary before the psycho-physical can replace it; but the most perfect physical organism may

represent but a fine human animal, while the highest type of man may be represented by a very imperfect body. As a matter of fact there is a constant interplay between the two aspects of human life—the external world and our concrete objective tendencies and needs which are a part of it, and the subjective human creative and transforming processes lying entirely within the individual psyche.

Sexuality and its activities must be considered from the standpoint of the symbol as well as from that of reality as is necessary for all else that is human; or, in other words, from the standpoint of both subjective or psychological reality and objective or external reality. Freud refers to "psychical reality" but apparently sees in it nothing but the material of neurosis. He states that "in the world of neurosis psychical reality is the determining factor." [1] He might also have said the same of the world of art and of all man's creativeness. He does not allow that sexual symbolism and even quite concrete sexual acts occurring in dreams and phantasies can have any other value or significance or cover any other need for the dreamer than the wish for the satisfaction of unallowed crude, physical desires. He sees only the necessity of the libido being released from its infantile manifestations and wishes into some form of concrete reality adaptation which will eventually, if carried to its conclusion, as he somewhere states, do away with all forms of art and, he might have added, with all forms of human creative expression.

The picture presented is not one calculated to appeal to the imagination as particularly desirable, even with freedom from conflict as the reward; for imagination itself would be something to be done away with, since it is certainly the antithesis of reality. It is, however, unnecessary to feel any anxiety over the possibility of its fulfilment and the consequent loss to the life of man. The world is filled with persons who would rather suffer the anguish of struggle and conflict all their days than be robbed of their greatest and most

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis,* p. 309 *et seq.*

valuable asset, their human creative capacity; just as women will risk their lives and suffer pain rather than deny their biological function. For the greatest of man's gifts is certainly born out of the same libido as is utilized by the child in sexual play and owes its productiveness to a kind of psychic activity which, when judged by way of objective analogy, can be called a coitus play on the subjective plane. It is this capacity of the sexual libido in man to find ways of functioning through a psychic process as well as a physical one that produces the disturbance and instability characterizing those individuals possessing what we call a creative gift.

Many books have been written on the subject of the creative genius, of the creative process itself, and attempts have been made to assign a special place to this group of human beings, in recognition of their functioning in forms different from those possible to the majority of mankind. Because, in the majority of creative persons, there exists what is called the neuropathic constitution in which the neurotic symptoms flourish in all their variety, genius has been associated with degeneracy. This is an assumption natural enough if the unstable personality, with its neurotic manifestations, means only an abnormal retrograde type. This was indeed the general classification of these individuals until Freud came forward with his psychoanalysis. According to his theory they are not degenerates, but are, instead, persons who are fixated in their early infantile desires for which their symptoms and created works are substitutes, gratifications masquerading under a disguised form.

In this discussion I have no desire to argue or dispute the deductions of any other worker; I simply record my own experience of many years in the treatment of psychological problems and neurotic symptoms. I have constantly found that when the sexual life had been quite completely analyzed, and the libido freed from its repressive and unconscious mechanisms, there was frequently a great relief produced but that, in general, this was only the beginning. The same symbolism appeared again and again in dream and in phantasy,

long after it had been quite clearly interpreted and recognized according to the sexual concept and the objective standpoint, until one was compelled to say that this symbolism must have some other significance to the dreamer than that revealed through the reduction to its primal sexual root. Freud remarks in this connection that "the interpretation of the symbols is very monotonous. But how can we help it?" We can help it by recognizing that the symbols possess another meaning: for it has been my experience that, when the analysis is used in the service of the entire personality, as it should be, it is impossible to hold to any one-sided interpretation. Employed in this way, a new value for the symbol arises and the meaning disclosed by the dream points the way to another step in the path of development. I shall give a dream to illustrate my meaning.

The dreamer was a woman about thirty-eight years of age, married and the mother of children. Besides this, she was a capable business woman, active and energetic in outer affairs. She was not neurotic, but came to analysis to gain understanding of a very personal problem.

I dreamed that Miss D., a friend to whom I had given much care and thought, was dead. But she seemed, in the dream, instead of one whom I had merely befriended, to be in a much closer and more important relationship—a sort of assistant and helper in some work in which I was engaged. However, she seemed to be still under my care. I had been away and on my return some one, a dim shadowy figure, in whose care my friend had been left, told me she was dead. I was greatly distressed and refused to believe it, saying, "It can't be true!" Of the figure I asked: "How do you know she is dead? She surely can be resuscitated." The figure replied: "Oh, yes, she is really dead. I performed an autopsy and took out her heart and liver."

At this I was terribly distressed, crying out in my sleep. Then the family of Miss D. seemed to come to take her away with all her belongings. This was another cause of distress, for Miss D.

was actually estranged from her family and had nothing to do with them in her lifetime. There seemed to be among the belongings some fine and beautiful china that I desired to possess, but the sister claimed it in spite of my protest. I said: "This is really mine, for if your sister had lived she would certainly have wanted me to have this."

It is obvious that a dream as striking as this would have a great number of implications and would require the life story of the dreamer to elucidate its complete meaning. I shall refer here only to that part of her life which is necessary to illustrate the interpretation of the dream.

First, I shall give some of the associative dream material. Miss D., whose death was the central feature of the dream, was described as a weak, ineffective person, entirely lacking in initiative, quite dependent and easily influenced. It will be remembered that the dreamer was just the opposite type, very energetic and independent, leading an active and effective life. Her motherly, sympathetic nature had led her to give care and support to Miss D. and to assume a certain responsibility for her well being. This had continued over a considerable period of time but now, at the time of the dream, she had been separated from Miss D. for a number of months. Just previous to the dream she had received a letter from the young woman with the news that she was not well and was very unhappy.

In dream analysis it is a general rule that the principle character in the dream represents the dreamer. In this dream, Miss D. is given a closer relationship than she actually possesses, and we must inquire into the similarity between the dreamer and this neurotic, dependent person. Wherein are they alike? This suggestion produces a marked disclaimer of any possible similarity between Miss D.'s weak personality and the dreamer's strong one. There can be no relationship between two such opposite natures. But wait; as the dreamer expresses her repudiation of this idea, she stops. Something

flashes into her mind; her weakness has suddenly appeared. Pressed to go on she says: "I have always thought that my too great love nature was my weakness, but I have managed it very well so that it has never gotten me into much trouble and now for a long time I have felt it was quite overcome." Here we are told what is the central problem of the dreamer. Further discussion informs us that she has been twice married, both times being disappointed in the husband. At the present time personal love has been put aside and the whole interest turned to achievements in the world, the masculine world of work and ambition. This and the strong maternal love for her children and others generally, make up the dominant notes of her personality. However, in using this weak, neurotic person, whom she has nursed and protected, as the personification of her love nature, a point of similarity between them has been established, for she says through this association, there is, in that sphere, something as weak and inadequate as this person, a something, furthermore, which is now dead.

She cannot accept this loss, and in great distress turns, in the dream, to the figure with whom the friend has been left, demanding how she knows that death is actually complete. Who is the dim shadowy figure responsible for the friend? The dreamer can get no picture of this person. We know, therefore, that the all important figure for the dreamer is apt to be this veiled and hidden one. Finally she says slowly: "It seems as if it must be a woman; the impression comes of a kind of witch, a vampire or a hag, something gruesome." Who now can this person be? The patient can give no answer. At last a startled expression comes into her eyes. She struggles; she is urged to speak: she says: "A thought flashed over my mind, but it cannot be; I cannot say it." Finally with further urging the word comes forth: "Mother." This then is the vampire who has effectually killed an important part of the dreamer's life, the aspect personified by the weak immature girl. The association with "heart and liver" brings immediately, "vital organs, the life."

This association of mother and vampire brings up many painful reminiscences for the dreamer. A long story is related of the incompatibility always existing between mother and daughter, and of the sadness and disappointment of the dreamer, who was an only child, over this state of affairs. She knew no father, his death having occurred at the time of her birth; therefore all the love and antagonism was placed on the one parent who stood in reality for both. This is the pivotal situation around which the life of the dreamer has developed, the outer objective setting which has served and influenced the specific directions which have been followed.

We learn further that the dreamer early went away from home, ostensibly to school, but in reality because of the unsympathetic relation with the mother. She married very young, partly for the same reason, and in actual life has been quite free from any interference or disturbance in connection with the mother ever since. Wherein then lies the difficulty which causes the unconscious identification of the mother with a vampire or witch who takes the life of the young girl?

Psychoanalysis emphasizes that the affective life is primarily bound up with the life of the mother. With her the infant psyche is in the closest relation; before birth a physical continuum, after birth a psychical continuum, which is uninterrupted until the era of self-consciousness begins; then ordinarily that division is supposed to occur along sex lines which Freud has described as the sex attraction of the daughter for the father and the son for the mother. This would be the smooth normal process if human beings followed the simple path. But we must consider that in a vast number of cases this separation never really takes place; indeed a whole group, of whom we shall have occasion to speak later when we come to the discussion of psychological types, remains in closest relation to the mother. In this case our dreamer never knew her father in reality. He was, however, as we learn, always a living ideal to her and around him she wove many beautiful phantasies which, because of his non-existence, could never

be corrected by reality. The reality figure was the mother and on her must be thrown the total resistance of the child. Theoretically, according to Freudian interpretations, because of the similarity of sex and the absence of the father in reality, there must be a homosexual element involved in the relation. This factor can be conceived of as determining an even greater resistance and repression of the relation than would have occurred under ordinary heterosexual conditions. Thus the antagonism and resistance which always existed between them could be accounted for in this simple fashion. We inquire about the dreamer's relation towards women. Did intimacies exist; were "crushes" on girls in her youth a factor in her life? We learn that she has never had very intimate women friends, that her whole life from the beginning of puberty has been characterized by the friendship and love of men. We see no sign whatever of any homosexual tendency; therefore we must conclude that the entire portion of her libido which belongs to her own feminine self (as object), the narcissistic component, has been effectually repressed into the depths of the unconscious; robbed of its life, the dream says, by the hand of the mother.

We have already seen that the dreamer is an unusually successful woman in her achievements and her relation to the world; it is evident that she has effectively developed the masculine components of her personality; her feminine nature has functioned through her maternity, the most outstanding and the strongest note of her personality being an overflowing maternal love which extends to everything weak and needy. Then where does the lack lie? We return to the first association in which she calls her love her weakness and we find here the missing link which interferes with an otherwise well rounded personality. There is now brought forth a story of unhappiness and disappointment in her love life. She had a wealth of love to give, but both marriages were with men selfish and unresponsive, taking all but giving nothing in return. She forgot that the rôle of the mother is all-giving, the sacrifice of self,

with nothing in return. But a mother is also a human being, necessarily needing personal love for a complete satisfying of herself as an individual. However, some time before this present period, she had made up her mind that it was impossible for her to find the love object she craved and that, therefore, she must sacrifice her wish. Accordingly she had definitely given up this hope and turned away to find a substitute satisfaction in the world of work. This was the successful management to which she referred. There is a question here as to the determination of her choice of marriage partners. What constellation dominates her that twice the same situation of failure is produced? This revealed itself quite clearly as a fixation on an ideal father figure represented by the first love object who had to be renounced. Neither husband fulfilled the young girl's image of responsible, protective man; instead she developed this character herself. However, she had a husband, children, and successful and interesting work in the world; from the objective and conscious standpoint all was well. Nevertheless through the dream we see the unconscious personal verdict; something belonging to her is dead and she suffers a great loss.

Now it is a psychological truism that nothing belonging to the personality can be actually destroyed. If it seems undesirable it may suffer repression into the unconscious and remains in a weak, undeveloped state; or the form in which the tendency should manifest itself for a particular individual may be changed, but always with such unconscious changes and lack of fulfilment there is entailed a loss to the personality. In man's very weaknesses are bound up his greatest values. This is even recognizable in our folk saying regarding an over moral person: "He's so good but so uninteresting," or in its opposite of the charming individual who unfortunately is so unmoral. Therefore our dreamer mourns her loss but, in the midst of her sadness, she discovers there is something artistic and beautiful belonging to the dead which should be hers, and which she is also in danger of losing (the sister takes it away).

Here is the important part of the dream for the present and future of the dreamer, the *prospective aspect* which the dream presents. The associations brought out with the china and the sister are too involved to relate here. It is sufficient to say that the sister represented a present situation, a relation with a woman friend who appealed to this weak personal side of her love nature—not to the mature maternal aspect—and with whom any close tie would have been unwise. Appearing at this late time it held the danger of a regressive phenomenon and would thus render complete the loss entailed in the sacrifice of the individual love aspect which still contained the possibility of a value (some artistic and creative possession). The china brought up many associations of girlhood, the immediate and important one being that the only artistic work she had ever done was china painting many years before.

To tell this capable, attractive woman that her trouble lies in an original homosexual fixation on her mother, that she harbors in her soul an incest wish toward her unknown father, transferred to her mother, and that this is the affective factor which has guided her life, would be obviously of little value in helping her in her present situation and future development. This is important, when provable, principally to the scientific investigator whose goal is the reducing of the complex to the simple, the tracking back to the beginnings. But to our dreamer the important thing is to know how it is with her now and how she can be helped to a greater fulfilment of herself.

The material which her dream brought forth clearly reveals to her that the heart of the problem lies within herself; in her over-developed maternal love with its consequent one-sided development; or, in other words, that the vampire mother has nothing to do with her own mother but has everything to do with that aspect of her own personality. Her maternal quality is the vampire which has destroyed the capacity for a personal love represented by the young girl. This personal love need belongs to the individual or ego aspect of the personality in

contradistinction to maternal love which possesses a collective character and belongs to the race. From this standpoint homosexual love is wholly individual in that it possesses no power of reproduction and no symbol of race significance. It is entirely self-enclosed, and the object really represents a psychological attitude (another self) belonging to the inventory of the total personality, even though not possessed by the conscious individual, because of its still remaining in the unconscious. Therefore it has the character of narcissistic love, projected on to another of the same sex, a kind of extension of the self. In its non-sexual form, ideal love of man for man and woman for woman, it is as important for the complete functioning of the individual as is the ordinary sexual love between man and woman. But, since that path of functioning is closed to the dreamer (the regressive relation with the woman friend to whom allusion has been made and who, the dream says, deprives her of the valuable objects belonging to the dead), she must not lose all (the beautiful possessions belonging to the young woman) and here lies the danger of the moment. In other words, her loss need not be all loss; from her sacrifice some gain can be had, and this is now the important bit of knowledge which the dream discloses to us.

To sum up, this first dream reveals to us the complete psychic situation in the life of the dreamer. It tells us that one part of the love nature (personal) has remained weak and immature like the young woman; that this part in its original form is now dead (the sacrifice of the wish for personal love or of the narcissistic component); that the death has been rendered absolute by the over-activity of the mother element (mother removes heart and liver). This means a great loss to the dreamer, for it is an important and necessary part of the personality, but there is something valuable and beautiful belonging to the dead, which the dreamer should have, some artistic and creative gift (the china brought up many associations which led directly to this) which she is in danger of losing through the sister (the relationship with the woman friend)

claiming it. This is the meaning of the dream for the dreamer.

I have purposely chosen to illustrate the difference between the method of pure Freudian dream interpretation and the interpretation which leads into something creative and positive for the dreamer, by taking a dream of a person belonging particularly to the type whose problems lie in the realm of the love life. Had I taken the opposite type we might then have met the conflict which Adler describes under the term of the "masculine protest" or the "will to power," and a very different psychic drama would have been revealed. Instead of mourning over lost love or striving to gain something of its value, we should have a grief over lost power or a seeking for means of winning its return. The emphasis would be on the ego instead of the love.

A study of human beings in relation to the psychological types shows very clearly what entirely different significances similar situations can possess. Although the same fundamental problems exist, their meaning for the dreamer, as well as the mode of his approach, differs markedly, and to attempt to force the personality of one type into the mold of another does violence to the psychology and to the best interests of the particular individual.

II

THE CHILD

A Discussion of the Freudian Sexual Interpretation

The whole structure of the Freudian psychoanalytic theory and practice, as it has developed, rests on the interpretation of infantile and child activities. Therefore, it is of the highest importance to make a careful study of the actual life activities of the child himself, from the standpoint of his own undeveloped psychology.

It is easy to interpret the child in terms of adult psychology and many of the extravagances and strained hypotheses of psychoanalytic theories have been due to the failure to make any distinction between the psyche of the immature child and that of the adult. Significances and values which cannot be by any means demonstrated as universal and common to early infancy have been read into the child's activities; and questionable generalizations have been formulated, unavoidable when the approach to the child is made not only through the medium of the adult mind, but from a body of evidence drawn from experience with pathological adults.

Consequently it is inevitable that many of the theories of the development of character trends, based on the concepts and emotional reactions of the adult mind, interpreting by analogy the organic processes and activities of the infant, are far-fetched and really unprovable hypotheses.

Nevertheless, it is to Freud's painstaking work in probing through the mind of the adult to the forgotten period of childhood, unearthing in his travels so much of value and importance for the understanding of mental processes and human life in general, that we owe any kind of realization of the unity

between child psychology and that of the adult. Through this pioneer work the first illumination was thrown upon the disparate and dark processes underlying child activity, and a stimulus was given to a more careful and direct study of child life than had existed before. Owing to the new meanings and significances given to psychic phenomena and behavior which, prior to Freud's work, were quite obscure, a light has been turned upon every phase of infantile life even though many of the interpretations are highly theoretical.

His new and often startling deductions brought to Freud a great number of disciples and co-workers who, accepting *a priori* his fundamental viewpoint, observed the data and applied the theories without regard to any other possibilities of deduction or of application. Thus was developed a definite and rigid theoretic structure for the interpretation of infantile activities. Statements based on these deductions and interpretations are generally set forth as settled and proved beyond any possibility of question and are often expressed in a form far more extreme and positive than that of the master himself.

But sufficient time has now elapsed and sufficient data has been gathered to make possible a critical examination of many of these theories and claims relating to infantile psychology. Such an examination can be profitable only when made in a spirit free from prejudice and sympathetic to the facts themselves, with no personal desire to uphold or break down a theory. A wide actual experience with psychoanalytic methods and practice is also necessary to enable one to observe the phenomena discussed by Freud, and thus to speak from direct observation rather than from theoretical knowledge.

In this discussion I make no attempt to present any new criticisms. It would be scarcely possible to do so, since all the theories of psychoanalysis have been most violently attacked and repudiated; and the statements which are questioned in this book are those which have been repeatedly criticized, often from the same standpoint. The only value in discussing them again lies in the fact that the majority of critics

and objectors have lacked the clinical experience and the necessary training in psychoanalytic technic. They have never personally seen the accumulation of the actual data on which the Freudian hypotheses have been based, nor have they realized how much discrimination is required in order not to be overwhelmed by the mass of sexual material which tumbles forth immediately on touching the individual.

Owing to the psychoanalytic work we now know that the psycho-sexual disposition is born with the child and is as much a part of his organism as the desire to suckle. We recognize the egotistic strivings and pleasure-seeking manifested in the life of the child, and it becomes a matter of careful work and close observation to differentiate and interpret the activities and behavior presented to us in the infantile phase of life. For, in the earliest period of coördinated activity, there also exist side by side with the purely egotistic and pleasure-seeking trends, their opposites; that is, generous impulses and consideration for others who belong to the immediate environment of the child. There is also an insistent urge toward certain attainments, the acquirement of which may involve pain, and yet be persistently pursued: witness the spontaneous attempts at walking at the age of nine or ten months in spite of falls and hurts; the baby efforts toward sharing with others in the family, and the numerous precursors of the later adult, cultural behavior expressed in the earliest period of child life. The statement is made that the child is entirely egotistic and unsocial; that, without severe cultural training, he would remain "an aggressive, dirty, immodest, cruel, egocentric animal"; [1] and that all the opposite tendencies which appear in many children are the result of environment and teaching. But it is impossible to consider or discuss the individual apart from his environment and solely from the theoretical standpoint. He and his environment are one; without his environment the individual does not exist. To build up a theory which attempts to explain character by excluding all positive, or what may be

[1] Jones: *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, p. 638.

called "good," wishes as opposed to the Freudian "evil" desires, is to take an extremely one-sided view of character development; it gives to the negative forces, to the repressive mechanisms, the entire responsibility for the creation of the greatest values of personality.

In the child all the tendencies and functions of the future adult are present but nascent; or, if active, are expressed sporadically in the immature form of play. Upon their development into a mature form, conformable with life's demands and capable of contributing to the adult needs, depend the future happiness and satisfactory state of the individual. This is equally true of all young animals and the relation between their activities and those of the young child is very close.

The infant is still united in the strongest bond to the mother, even after the separation of their bodies, and it is as if the physical umbilical cord had not been cut. During the nursing period a purely sensuous relation with objects exists—a relation characteristic of all other young animals—which can be called a state of identity with nature. It is this state of identity—which is, from the psychological standpoint, a living inside life as it were, an unself-conscious functioning according to pattern, analogous to the physical existence inside the mother before birth—to which Freud evidently alludes when he says: "We have originally only known sexual objects." The original object of attachment is, of course, the breast or nipple; but this can scarcely be called a primarily sexual object. In this early undifferentiated phase, the suckling activity is all-important and primary and Freud considers it a form of sexual action and sees in suckling the first sexual manifestation. He bases his justification for this conception; first, on the assumed similarity between the picture of the satiated infant—the child with reddened cheeks and blissful smile sinking back from the mother's breast into sleep—and the expression attending sexual gratification in later life; and, second, on the pleasure of suckling indulged in by infants quite apart from the taking of nutrition.

It is not to be doubted that the functions of nutrition and sexuality, the two main organic processes of all life, are most closely interrelated in the living organism, in that both serve its well-being and both alike contribute to its pleasure. But it is entirely open to question whether, in the desire to simplify and unify, it is permissible to subsume under one head two such complicated and different activities. That the different activities bring in their train satisfaction and pleasure as end results are sequential phenomena necessary for the living organism, but that all pleasure produced by organic activity is synonymous with sexual pleasure is nowhere evident.

Consistent with the linking of suckling and sexuality, is the association of defecation and sexuality. Thus, it is claimed, the infant makes the output of his alimentary tract as well as its intake, a means of sexual pleasure; he plays with his anal contents and the attitude he takes towards this interest when education supervenes to wean him from it determines his future character. So much emphasis is placed upon the sexual nature of this function, and such supreme importance is attributed to the influence it exercises over character and personality in the adult—derived from the feelings presumed to have existed in the child—that the assumption deserves the most careful investigation. I shall quote and paraphrase from Jones' elaborate exposition of the so-called anal erotic character, since he expresses in detail the Freudian view.[1]

"Defecation constitutes one of the two greatest personal interests of the infant during the first year of life. The mucous membrane lining the anus and anal canal possesses the capacity of giving rise on excitation to sexual sensations, just as does that lining the entrance to the alimentary canal. The sensations vary in intensity with the strength of the stimulus, a fact frequently exploited by infants, who will at times obstinately postpone the act of defecation so as to heighten the pleasurable sensation when it occurs, thus forming a habit which may lead to chronic constipation in later life."

[1] Jones: *Papers on Psychoanalysis,* Ch. XL, pp. 664-688.

The pleasure thus experienced becomes repressed very early in life as a rule, and most adults are not capable of obtaining any conscious pleasure from this region. "The psychical energy accompanying the wishes and sensations relating to the region is almost altogether deflected into other directions," forming so-called sublimation and reaction formations, and expressed in a number of character traits and in various occupations. Some are of a positive nature; that is, they represent merely a deflection from the original aim; while others are of a negative nature and form what are called reaction formations erected as barriers against repressed tendencies.

Jones postulates two varieties of interest in this subject (and the character traits ascribed to it); one in the act of defecation itself and the other that attached to the product of this act. In the first interest, the attitude of the infant toward the act itself (and influencing the later character formation), there are two typical features constantly noted though to an extent varying in different cases. One is the endeavor of the infant to get as much pleasure as possible out of the act; the other is his effort to retain his individual control of it in opposition to the educative aims forced upon him. "The first of these endeavors, the child carries through by postponing the act as long as he can—children have been known even to go to the length of *squatting down and supporting the anal orifice with the heel so as to keep back the stool to the last possible moment—and then performing it with intense concentration,*[1] during which they resent any disturbing influence from without." According to Jones, such infants become people given to procrastination; they delay and defer what they must do until the eleventh or twelfth hour. They then plunge into work with desperate or feverish energy which nothing is allowed to thwart, any interference being keenly resented. Undue sensitiveness to interference is characteristic of this type. "A kindred trait is intense persistence on an undertaking once engaged on, from which they allow nothing to divert

[1] Italics my own.

them. . . ." "Such people are often notorious bores. They are equally hard to move to a course of action," or to be turned aside from it once begun. They are slow-minded and heavy in thought; once started on a topic they will thoroughly exhaust it and no one will be allowed to interrupt. "Such people often show an extraordinary capacity for forcing their way through difficulties and getting things done in spite of obstacles." This persistence is often related to pedantry and obstinacy. A typical kind of behavior of this sort of person when faced with the need for an undertaking is this: "First, there is a period of silent brooding during which the plan is being slowly and often only half-consciously elaborated. At this time not only are they not to be hurried, which would result in a flustered annoyance, but they keep postponing the preliminary steps as long as possible" until the others despair of the performance ever being accomplished. "Then follows a period of feverish and concentrated activity when all interference is resented and nothing is allowed to prevent the program being carried out to the bitter end." Self-willed independence which is the implicit attitude of this type expresses itself in another character trait —the conviction that no one else can do a thing as well as the subject himself. They are hard to get on with as colleagues because they refuse to allocate any of their responsibilities, and so on.

All this is claimed by Jones to be the result of the infant desire to obtain as much sexual pleasure as possible in the act of defecation. *The endeavor to retain his control of it* produces the character of self-willedness and obstinacy. "Such people take advice badly, resent any pressure put upon them, stand on their rights and dignity, rebel against authority"; they can never be driven, only led. "As children they are extremely disobedient, there being indeed a constant association between defiant disobedience and unmastered anal eroticism." Or else its opposite may develop, leading to unusual docility.

The desire for self-control leading to experiments with the aim of increasing it, is also related up to this far-reaching com-

plex—due to the infant's ambition to achieve control of his sphincters.

Interest in the act of defecation can lead to interest in the anal canal itself and is revealed by a tendency to be occupied with the reverse side of things, about the opposite or back sides of objects and places, an interest in underground places, in making mistakes as to right and left, east and west, etc.

Many infants, we are told, feel it an injustice that what they have produced should be taken away from them! Such persons in later life are very sensitive in the matter of exact justice being done. They become agitated when something which symbolizes fæces in the unconscious is taken away from them. The concept of time is, because of the sense of value attached to it, an unconscious equivalent of the excretory product. "It is astounding how many tasks and performances can symbolize in the unconscious the act of defecation." "The most perfect example of all, and one quite pathognomonic of a marked anal complex, concerns the act of writing letters." Every possible habit in regard to letter writing finds a place under one phase or other of the complex!

The copra-symbols are many and ubiquitous also. Chief among them is food, filth of all sorts, waste-paper and all kinds of refuse. "Books and other printed matter are a curious symbol of fæces, presumably through the association with paper and the idea of pressing (smearing, imprinting)." Other important symbols are money and children, and one's last will and testament; "the association is doubtless the sense of value and the prominence of the idea of something being left finally behind."

There are two aspects of the retaining tendency; the refusal to give and the desire to gather. Those belonging to the first class grudge giving or lending anything that is a copra-symbol, such as money and books. If they are compelled to give more than they want to they react with extreme annoyance; also when money is stolen from them or when they are given "bad" money! The impulse to gather applies to collectors of all

sorts, who are all anal-erotics, and who always collect copra-symbols.

Exquisite tenderness for children is one of the most impressive traits belonging to this complex, on account of their innocence and purity, though the impressive character is somewhat marred by "a curious accompaniment," namely, a "tendency to domineer the loved (and possessed) object." These "retaining symbolists" also have a love of order and economy, and great pleasure in the discovery of uses for waste products (*i.e.*, sewage farm). In the intellectual sphere they exhibit a dislike of "muddled thinking, and a passion for lucidity of thought." In one variety the personal aim is to eject upon objects and to defile by smearing or squirting chemicals on women or property. Two sublimations of "great social significance" are "interest in painting and in printing, *i.e.*, in implanting one's mark on some substance." Cooking likewise appears to be a useful and very common sublimation. The capacity for being depended upon is another trait due to this anal-erotic complex.

Sometimes the sense of value of the fæces is replaced by love of jewels, either as possessions or as presents. Among awkward reaction formations may be a dislike of progeny, though "when this happens the woman may delight in the process of pregnancy itself, but take no interest in the result of it." Needless to say there is a "flatus complex," a derivative of the infant's interest in the production of intestinal gas. A passion for propagandism on fresh air or breathing exercises, reticence in speech, love of rhetoric, particularity in the choice and form of words, are a few instances of what is attributed to this complex. And so it goes on until it is difficult to find any trait of character or any creative art that does not have its origin either in the repression and sublimation of this most overvalued infantile interest, or in the failure of the repression.

The absurdity of such a generalization and the extreme length to which one is pushed to justify the hypothesis reveal themselves as soon as one tries to attribute to one single factor all the varied reactions and activities which belong to a com-

plex human being. Very considerable objective importance naturally attaches to the establishment of a normal function of defecation, on account of its great importance for health. But I cannot subscribe to the claim that a sexual fixation upon the act is so general or of such intensity as to determine not only the future choice of an occupation but to lay the foundation of all the future character traits. And, in an array of reactions and individual attitudes such as are included in this amazing category, certainly no individual, either neurotic or normal, is excluded.

Unquestionably, there are children who show some of the signs of pleasure and evince some of the attitudes toward this function which are claimed as universal, just as there are infants who display definite genital sexual activity (masturbation within the first six months), but this does not justify the assumption that all children possess the same sexual disposition, or that the effects of these attitudes are such that the entire future life is determined by this particular manifestation.

The real problem of character tendencies certainly lies deeper in the structure of the human being than even this primary function. It must be explained why one particular child evinces more intense preoccupation with the function and more difficulty in adapting to it than another child. My personal observation would assign such extreme reactions rather to differences in type and to individual differences.

In the animal world, among kittens and puppies raised in the home, we can readily observe a great difference in the ease or difficulty with which some young creatures respond to the training of their mothers. Certain of them easily learn to control their excretory functions until they reach the appropriate place. Some kittens of mine who were taught entirely by their mother, after the age of four weeks never missed finding their way to the room in which their toilet was placed. I have never observed any sexual play connected with fæces in these young animals, although play is such a marked characteristic in their lives, but various sexual movements of the body of a

masturbatory character are frequently seen. This interest is of course never absent from adult dogs.

It can hardly be maintained, however, that, if an actual and primary sexual element connected with the anal product is present, it would not manifest itself equally in young animals. The "repression" that they undergo when subjected to training should also give some definite evidence of its presence. It is true that these young animals never play with their fæces or manifest any particular interest in them once they are voided, and that little children sometimes do; but children have a much wider range of interests in general, and are attracted to any and every object that happens to be at the moment in their environment. But the interest in what they make themselves can certainly be related to the general interests of the ego without forcing it into a preëminently sexual category and postulating an exaggerated importance to the phantasies the child attaches to its fæces—exaggerated to the point of calling "the motions . . . the child's material gift par excellence, in return for all the proofs of love it receives." [1]

We know that mothers and nurses often coax little children to evacuate when they are placed on the chair, by appealing to their baby affection—"Do it for mother dear, be a good baby," and similar admonitions, and under these suggestions the child responds and feels pride in his achievement and the praise he wins. But this is something entirely different from a primary attitude of the child, a spontaneous association of "love and fæces." In Jones' words, "The infant's natural tendency . . . is to keep and play with the material in question. . . . The infant will produce and smear with excreta as a token of affection and pleasure." [2]

Certain infants from the very beginning do evince a natural tendency to keep and play with anything whatsoever that attracts their attention, from a little piece of string or stick found on the floor to the fancy toy given to them, and will

[1] Abraham: "Manifestations of Female Castration Complex," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. III, Part I.
[2] Jones: *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, p. 675.

shriek and cry when any particular treasure is taken away from them, even before they are subjected to special training of the excretory functions.

This training is generally the *first real adaptation required* of the child in connection with his own person, the first attempt to learn control of himself and to gain a relation toward himself. Under the stimulus of this demand, new character tendencies come into the foreground which determine his attitude. He may accept the new régime very easily, when the whole process quickly falls into its proper place; or he may act in a resistant and stubborn manner, refusing to adapt to the new order, learning only with difficulty what he ought to do. In this latter attitude one can already recognize typical character attributes which will certainly manifest themselves later in connection with each new adaptation required. This is evidently the basis for the claims for the anal-erotic determinants for character.

It is necessary to recall how closely the infant is in psychical relation with his own organism and its needs. For the earliest phase of life one can accept Schopenhauer's statement that: "Pleasure consists in the absence of displeasure." The general medical opinion that no infant is irritable or unhappy who is entirely free from physical discomfort is a practical rendering of the same idea.

The infant has no power over his environment. He is plastic and helpless within it, and can alter it only in the smallest way; only a very few children can assert the power of the "magic gesture" or of the "magic word" (Ferenczi). His only means of overcoming hunger and physical discomfort is by his cry. But soon this helpless condition gives place to an active attack upon the environment itself, and the problem of the "I" and the "Not I" has arisen.

It is at this stage that the differences existing from the beginning between the various types of personality begin to appear. Those who remain most closely identified with the "I"

attach a special importance and value to all their own activities and processes, and therefore, by such children the excretory products are relatively prized, because part of themselves. I would emphasize that the excretory function belongs particularly to the ego-aspect of the organism, as do eating and drinking and the nutritive processes generally, rather than to the sexual aspect. These functions appertain to the individual exclusively, and the integrity of his organism depends upon their proper working, in contradistinction to the sexual function which in itself possesses an ulterior aim and purpose outside the individual and to the fulfilling of which he may even be sacrificed. Further, sexuality *per se,* though a natural part of the individual life, is not essential for its continuance. It is possible to exist even though this function remains in complete abeyance.

Children in general bring a surplus of energy to their activities over and above their needs; this can be observed in all their movements and in their unfailing interest in objects of all sorts to which they give in rapid succession their entire attention. They bring concentrated attention to bear upon whatever engages them for the moment, regardless of its nature. Any one who has watched a group of average small children at play cannot fail to note their entire absorption in their occupation, so that the needs of the body, whether for food or for evacuation of the bowels, are postponed and set aside as long as possible. The sight of a child jumping up and down, or, as Jones notes, sitting upon his heel to prevent a mishap because he has waited until the last possible moment to relieve himself, is familiar in every nursery. The final hasty rush, and the intense concentration of attention on the performance, owing to the urgency of the compulsive movements of the muscles and his desire to return to his play, explain the facts far more simply than the forced interpretation drawn from the later perverted acts and phantasies of the sexually mal-developed adult. And sometimes simple explanations are the correct ones!

This does not question the fact that there are children who

manifest all the abnormal interest in this aspect of their bodies which is postulated by the Freudian analysts to be the rule and on which is based the general theoretical formulations. But it will be found, as I have previously indicated, that the interest of these children is concentrated on any and everything that is connected with themselves to a far greater degree than on any object outside. They early become conscious of themselves as objects; they *apperceive* the ego, I might say, far sooner than the external object which they merely *perceive*. In infancy the ego and body are in identity; therefore the object of supreme interest, in every detail and function, is the body. When this is maintained throughout life, all the traits called anal-erotic by Freudians are found in a marked degree. But the source of the "excessive desire to possess," or "the desire to push away," instead of being determined by a specific attitude towards the anal products, is to be found, in my opinion, in *the primary disposition of the libido towards objects*. The typical attitude towards the excrementary products is quite consistent with the general attitude of the individual in question. The primary interest of certain individuals is in their own body as object. Secondarily, the bodies of others acquire interest and this can be a first step in transference through identification.

Owing to the initial inhibition in the outflow of libido towards the external world through the fixation on the primary object (so that the ego—as far as we can use this term in speaking of a young child—and mother really represent but one) there is a gradual damming up of surplus energy. This energy, withdrawn from adaptation, is slowly stored up as the child grows to adulthood and produces a great inner world, the beginning of which lies in the original fixation of interest on the self, and which is fed by the accumulating libido not applied to the outer world of objects. If this inner realm, which is ruled over by the ego, progresses and develops beyond the infantile phase, we then get as its products, art, religions, love of beauty and the ideal, and a capacity for abstract and highly evolved

thought processes. Similarly, the libido which flows out to invest external objects (apart from the self) with interest and value, becomes adapted to external life, *i.e.*, the outer object, and creates science and a capacity for adequate conquering and management of the environment.

Nations in whom scatological rites and ceremonies are so marked a feature are all introverted peoples; their libido and interest have not been directed to the conquering of the external world nor to the production of more objects with which to dominate it; but their conquests have been achieved in the inner realm of spirit and through the attainment of power over the self. These rites were aids by means of which this interest could be transformed and raised from an infantile to a mature form. Therefore, although these peoples produce phantasies and rituals which reveal special interest in scatological matters, and their ideas revolve around such symbols, I do not consider this signifies a wish actually to repeat some childish performance which perhaps was once of interest. Instead it indicates that the individual has an accumulation of libido belonging to the ego function, which is inadequately utilized and is in an immature form. His need is to create something, a self-creation, an art, which belongs to the non-physiological realm. In other words, he uses as a symbol of this purely human and individual form of creativeness, the first product of his own making, which once was all he could produce.

It is only in specific and individual cases that it is justifiable to construe the dream material of the adult and his character reactions to signify infantile anal-erotic desires and wishes. There are people for whose problems and symptoms the sexual interpretation is entirely valid. But the assumption of its universal validity and its consideration as the well nigh exclusive basis for the complex behavior of man—that cannot be sustained.

Since Freud's great contribution to an appreciation of child psychology, by calling attention to and emphasizing the existence of infantile sexuality, it is impossible to overlook the all

pervasiveness of the sexual component. But this does not mean that it possesses a primary significance in relation to the various functions which are thus invaded. For instance, curiosity is used in the service of sexuality, but is not dependent upon sexuality for its existence. Nevertheless, because a child exhibits curiosity about birth, the sexual relations of his parents, or the sexual organs of others, psychoanalytic literature constantly refers to curiosity and the demand for knowledge as though derived from and dependent upon the sexual interests. For instance, the desire to investigate and to know (and as a product of this we must include science) arises from a repression of the original sexual curiosity. Curiosity as a primal impulse, however, is evident in all young animals as well as in primitives and in children. It is brought into the service of the sexual impulse just as it is applied to every other aspect of the unknown world.

An intense preoccupation with the sexual hypothesis appears to produce the impression that the life principle, the living processes themselves, and the sexual impulse are one and the same thing; and, from the Freudian viewpoint, this actually works out in practice. But, in attempting to analyze and separate the components of human behavior, one is not justified in simply giving a primary sexual significance, regardless of their own specific aim, to the various functions and activities which are invaded by the sexual libido.

As a matter of fact, in life it is quite impossible to separate the energy belonging to the ego impulses of the organism from those of the sexual impulses, for they are inextricably fused. In some very young infants the sexual component is plainly seen in definite onanistic actions. Children have come under my own observation who began genital masturbation at four months, and who could only be restrained by mechanical measures applied over a number of years. The eldest of these is now fifteen years old and the youngest ten, but of the group only one can be considered in any way neurotic. The others are well-adapted normal children, healthy in every respect. The

one who is neurotic belongs to a special psychological type, and possesses all the characteristics of that type in a rather extreme form. Her younger sister, who is an opposite type, carried out the same erotic activities over an equally long period of time, but she suffers from none of the symptoms of inferiority and mal-adaptation which mark the elder child. These are special cases, and quite well reveal the presence of the sexual impulses, already actively creating erotic pleasure sensations, in the service of the ego. Unless, however, one is prepared to identify all pleasurable activities with sexuality, it seems unjustifiable to attribute such an overwhelming influence in psychic development to this factor. Freud, to be sure, has attempted to overcome the limitation produced by his use of the term sexuality through enlarging its meaning to include a concept of much wider significance than is general. However, so persistent and definite is the common meaning that, although used theoretically in the wider sense, in the practice of Freudian analysts it is accorded the ordinary and concrete significance.

A similar misinterpretation of the infant's psychic life occurs in the overstressing of his natural enjoyment in nakedness, which is in evidence from the earliest period of infancy. Every infant, on having its clothing removed, stretches and kicks in obvious delight in its freedom from restraining bands. This occurs long before it has any distinct consciousness of its own body or any separation from the original identity. Until a sense of subject and object has arisen it cannot be said to be capable of a desire to exhibit its body to others for sexual satisfaction; yet this infantile pleasure in stretching and in nakedness generally, is called exhibitionism after an adult sexual perversion, and is given an exclusive sexual significance of positive character. The propelling motive for this pleasure, in the little boy particularly, is stated to be an unconscious desire to exhibit his genitals to his mother and sisters, and this is presumed to be due to the environmental repression exercised upon him within the first few years of life.

One need only study children in a state of nature among

primitives to see how far-fetched is this hypothesis. Among the Malay peoples, where I spent several years, the children of both sexes usually run about naked, and neither shame nor any other motive which can be regarded as having a sexual connotation can be found associated with this. It is as difficult to detect a sexual motivation here, as it is to find it associated with the defecation of young animals. Among primitive people children are accustomed to nakedness, except when protection from the cold is necessary; and is it not far more conformable with the facts that the connection in the unconscious with the primitive life and the natural state which has been in operation through such long ages can account for the pleasure in the freedom of the naked body? If the impulse lying behind the enjoyment in nakedness were due to the desire to call attention to the genitals, then it must lie in the absolute unconscious, as do the organic instincts, and therefore this interpretation would be equally true of the children of primitives. But only by a complete misinterpretation of the facts can this be attributed to them, for their nakedness is their customary and natural mode of life. The fact that little boys exhibit pride in their genital organs is also pointed out as evidence of the presence of sex-consciousness; but they also take pride in their arms and in their bodies in general, as well as in their prowess in walking or creeping, or in any form of movement by which they gain power or win admiration from their elders. They take pride equally in their clothes or in adornment of any sort bestowed upon them.

The fact that little girls take an equal joy in nakedness, and this although there is no father or brother in the nursery to whom they can exhibit, is ignored or slurred over. Perhaps the statement that little girls early desire to have a baby and that the wish is directed towards the father that he should give them one, is offered as a counterpart of the above. But this appears as far-fetched as the former interpretation, for little children under six years of age rarely have any knowledge that the father has anything to do with the baby, and in my experi-

ence I have never seen or heard of a little child who ever associated the idea of having a baby with the father. It is always the mother who is asked to give them a baby and with whom baby getting is associated.

The fact appears to be overlooked that the young child is quite as incoördinated and unadapted in its psychical functioning as in its physical movements and that its psychology cannot be adequately grasped by the attempt to interpret it from the standpoint of the adult mind. Such an attempt leads to an error similar to one pointed out by Levy-Bruhl [1] in connection with primitive psychology; namely, the impossibility of forming a true estimate of primitive mentality from the standpoint of the cultured mind. The similarity of many of the activities and sensory pleasures of infants and young children to those of adults led Freud to regard the sexual aspect of the life processes as the dominant one, responsible for the larger part of the psychological phenomena and special character traits of ordinary human life. On account of this analogy he characterizes the various play activities as *polymorphous perverse,* thus definitely linking up the child's sexuality with the later perversions.

The validity of this procedure as well as its utility is still questioned by many sincere students of these phenomena, and to many who accept the major psychoanalytic teachings this presentation of infantile sexuality is still unproven.

Freud justifies his use of the term, "perverse sexuality," in these words:

> If a child has a sexual life at all it must be of a perverted order, since apart from a few obscure indications, he is lacking in all that transforms sexuality into the reproductive function. Moreover it is a characteristic common to all perversions that in them reproduction as an aim is put aside. This is actually the criterion by which we judge whether a sexual activity is perverse—if it departs from reproduction in its aims and pur-

[1] *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inferieures.*

> sues the attainment of gratification independently. Everything that occurs before this conversion takes place, and everything which refuses to conform to it and serves the pursuit of gratification alone, is called by the unhonored title of "perversion" and as such is despised.[1]

The child is lacking not only in all that transforms sexuality into reproduction but in all other developed adult functions, and he expresses his future activities almost exclusively in the form of play, yet we do not call him perverted on this account. It was this attack upon the child's psychology from the wrong end—that is, from the adult downward, instead of from the child upward—that Jung attempted to remedy. He proposed to call the various interests and activities of the child which had an undoubted sexual coloring, "precursors of sexuality" and, through the development of his libido theory, give a genetic formulation to embrace the total activities of the organism from child to adult.

It is this projection of the adult psychology, with the libido belonging to it, upon the immature play activities of the child that is responsible for many of the artificial conceptions of character development which cumber psychoanalysis and often conceal its great significance for modern life.

It is certain that, however the primary development of the various functional psychic activities has originally taken place, they have been for long ages organized firmly and fixedly, appearing to a greater or less degree in all children as soon as they are sufficiently awakened from the unconscious state. It is obvious that these functions are employed in relating the child to his environment, both from the standpoint of the sensations evoked by the stimulus of the outer world, and of the inner processes of the organism itself. There is also a definite sensuous attachment binding the child and its environment in intimate association, producing in many persons the same kind

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 266.

of overvaluation of objects of the external world that Freud has formulated in relation to the personal love object. But if this feeling interest in general can be called a sexual relation, then "sexual" actually loses all its particular meaning and becomes a generalized term for all lively and sensuous interest.

This all-embracive use of the term sexual is misleading and inadequate and it cannot be maintained in practice. For such generalized sexual libido has lost its specific character and has become permanently separated from its original purpose. *It now has no part or place with the actual function of sexuality, and demands a differentiated consideration.* Any attempt to bring this into a sexual category, biologically understood, must be made purely in the service of a theory, in order to supply a simple and uniform explanation for the exceedingly complex and diversified phenomena of the living human organism.

In this same connection the well-known mechanism of infantile amnesia is one which is made to serve a theory far beyond its real significance—if due consideration is given to the actual physiological and biological processes. Freud's recognition of an active force operating in individuals by means of which painful and unpleasant thoughts, feelings and experiences are banished from consciousness and forgotten (which he called repression), is of the greatest value. It can be observed continuously in one's self and others operating in a mechanical fashion, like a reflex; it is nature's way of protecting the organism from painful and disagreeable affects disturbing to its well-being. In addition, a normal forgetting of a passive character, rather than a remembering, can be observed to be the universal rule of psychic life. The very best memory can recall but the merest fragment of the total conscious impressions and experiences received from one week to another. This disappearance from consciousness, when their purpose is fulfilled, of the majority of the impressions and images impinging on the mind during the life of the individual, can be set down to the economy of nature, or to the self-preserving mechanism.

Experience is the stimulator of new capacities, and the capacity which is thus developed is retained; it becomes an integral part of the individual, although the remembrance of the actual concrete situation or experience may be lost or quite inaccurately recalled—in other words forgotten. This method is faulty and often inadequate for its purpose, as is the case in so many of nature's unaided processes. Nevertheless, it serves as the model which the active repressive force follows automatically in protecting the ego from painful feelings.

To explain infantile amnesia, however, by this later form of forgetting (active repression) and to say that, because the forgotten infantile experiences have "left deep traces in the psychic life, therefore we conclude that we do not deal with a real forgetting of infantile impressions but rather with an amnesia similar to that observed in neurotics for a later painful experience," [1] is to ignore a great many factors and psychic processes of adult life, as well as to disregard the immaturity of the psychic processes of the young child. It is not taken into account that his psychic functions are those of an undeveloped personality, that they are still largely in the unconscious—that is, not yet clearly defined and differentiated one from the other. When fact and fancy are still intermingled so closely that there is no differentiation between what is actually experienced and *what is mere vague sensation still unattached to definite concepts or objects,* the creation of clear images is impossible and, lacking these, memory cannot operate. A recent observer of the cognitions of small children makes some remarks which have a bearing upon the matter of their psychic processes. He says:

> When children first begin to talk, their judgments of futurity take on a semblance of accuracy and completeness months before their judgments of pastness do. To-morrow's picnic excursion and the experience of next Sunday when the little one will be taken to Sunday School, are fairly definite concepts long

[1] Freud: *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory,* p. 36.

> before he has any definite idea of what happened yesterday, and it is most interesting to observe how very slowly the conception of the day before yesterday begins to function in his experience.[1]

The generalization is sometimes made that infancy is a time of complete satisfaction and happiness (see Jones, Ferenczi, and others) and that the surrender of this happiness in favor of adaptation is the cause of conflict and later symptoms which try to reproduce that lost happiness. As a matter of fact it can be shown that for many children this happiness is largely mythical—that it did not exist in the life of countless numbers who have endured considerable neglect, disregard, sickness, and distress in infancy and have no happy experience actually to look back upon or to cling to. Nevertheless the longing for that imagined joyous state is just as acute in these children as if it had been experienced. The state of infancy has become a symbol of freedom, irresponsibility, and omnipotence; the individual sees in the past that which he misses or desires in the present. Man's imagination through the creation of symbols and phantasies can fashion situations which have no basis in individual experience but which are no less potent in their effect.

One can see the creative activity of the mind at work in the imaginative child, and the value for him which the symbolic substitutes for reality possess is immeasurable. The desire to know and grasp the meaning of the phenomena of life and nature with which he is surrounded, is a general characteristic of every intelligent child, and his endless questionings are familiar to every mother. The child who is busy creating new combinations and explanations for himself from those given him, and from the phenomena he sees, reproducing in his play, with himself as the chief actor, what he observes, forms the prototype of all human creative activity. Thus one may see the process through which the phantastic thinking and myth-making of primitives has arisen.

[1] G. A. Tawney, *Journal of Philosophy,* Vol. XIX, No. 20, p. 410.

Not all children are imaginative, however; some are little realists (just like certain adults) and are concerned only with the fact as they learn it; about any story or tale their first anxious inquiry is always, "Is it true, mother?" It is these marked differences in psychological reaction to objective phenomena that render any wide generalizing about child behavior unreliable and wholly inadequate for the basis of a scientific theory. Certain children from the very earliest years are in the closest relation to reality; namely, those whose psychic organization is such that they follow the simple biological and so-called normal trends, adapting to whatever conditions their situation and cultural environment provide. There seem to be no problems here, the activities of their lives have been set by nature on simple mechanical lines and their relation with the external world and its objects is a direct and immediate one. These are not the individuals who develop phobias, hysterias and neuroses in general; neither do they become the creators of new cultures, as expressed in the arts, philosophies, and inventions. If they had formed the majority of the human race, the enormous advance in culture of the historic period could not have taken place; for they are always of the opinion that the present is the best that can be and nothing must upset what is or what has been, and this is especially true as they grow older.

On the other hand there are numerous children whose psychic organization can be called a loose or unstable one. From them anything or nothing may originate. All possibilities in themselves are present, for the psychic functions, impulses and instincts concerned with the ego are all separately active. Something of the same condition exists in relation to the ego as Freud has postulated in relation to the infantile sexual trends. These partial impulses, operating separately in the child, but at puberty becoming normally organized into the fore-pleasure activities under the supremacy of the genital zone, can find their analogy in a similar process through which a firmly organized ego function is attained.

The closest relation exists between these children and their own mental productions and imaginative creations, in place of a firmly knit relation to the external environment. Their wish creations are their real world, and the environment and facts of the external world are secondary, serving as food or material for their individual mental structures. From these children come the creators of the new culture, as well as neurotic, unstable individuals composing the mass of ne'er-do-wells and incapables.

These children, or the adults with this childhood background, are unquestionably the ones who have led the Freudian psychoanalysts to consider the vagaries of the erotic impulse as the chief cause of many of the character traits and behaviorisms, for in these individuals the impulses of creation and destruction are seen operating in the simplest forms. In these children there can be glimpsed the many possibilities inherent in the human psyche, only a few of which ever come into activity, and the natural ambivalence of the emotions, before the repressive mechanism operates, is revealed in the clearest manner.

The creative libido which manifests itself in play and motor activity of every variety, including erotic play, floods the various ego tendencies, stimulating and increasing their activity so that these children frequently reveal precociousness manifested in both intellectual and erotic forms of expression. The firmly knit integration of the forces of the "I" which gives a feeling of solidity to the ego fails to take place in the same way as in the more stable group. There is a much more illusive feeling in relation to the ego. It is identified first with one and then another of the many rich possibilities of the personality, but the undercurrent is always the need to attain a firmness and security in the ego. This firm, secure feeling is possessed quite unconsciously as a mechanism of the stable types, but generally at the expense of a less rich personality. The libido which in these latter cases is satisfactorily employed in quite normal adaptive purposes cannot be used in the same satisfac-

tory way by many of these other children. As they mature it demands another form of creativeness for its satisfaction, one which more directly contributes to the ego development and integration on a richer level. Therefore one finds, in these children, a persistence of psychic identification with the world of their wishes and dreams, the play world, which is exhibited in all degrees when the pubertal period arrives. Then arises in the organism the biological demand, producing that visible conflict between the ego interests and the physiological sex interests so frequently met, and so particularly acute in our time. Children of this class are in general especially sensitive owing to their very lack of firmness in the ego and their greater consciousness or awareness of the ambivalent emotional feelings.

This problem of ambivalence of the emotions was first brought into notice by Bleuler in relation to schizophrenic patients, where it plays an important part in the symptomology. But actually it can be said to be normal to all impulses in their original state. That is, there are two opposing forces, the positive and negative feelings, manifesting themselves in association with desires and affective states. Under normal conditions only one of these forces is felt in consciousness at any one time, and the opposite feeling often does not arise at all. However it is possible to demonstrate its presence even in normal persons, by carefully watching their behavior and attitudes. In children it is especially easy to observe these opposed tendencies in the quickly changing moods which follow one another in rapid succession, and clearly reveal the presence of both impulses, one of which is gradually suppressed as the individual becomes identified with the cultural demands of his environment.

In primitives this dual feeling relation to objects is, as we should expect, very marked until the complex psychological development and greater self-consciousness of civilization arises. In our modern era we can obtain a most illuminating insight into this ambivalent, emotional psychology through a study of Russian life. In Gorky's biographical stories the actions and behavior of his characters shock and affect us as

something utterly alien. We see here the adults carrying into action, with the strength and energy of the adult organism, the impulses and emotional moods of children, passing from one extreme to another of love and hate, anger and tenderness, curiosity and fear, earnestness and childish superficiality.

It is on the basis of this ambivalent emotional attitude that Freud has conceived the taboos of the primitives to have arisen. Bleuler takes as an example the sexual impulse which is in itself subject to the two opposing forces. Here it is easy to observe the motives of desire for and opposition to, in the most marked contrast to each other. In the female, both in the human and animal world, the luring, the coyness and the retreat from the sexual approach are well recognized phenomena, *the negative attitude being no less real than the positive.*

Everywhere in human cultural customs and laws recognition is made of the two tendencies mutually operative; the ethical rules and laws being based on the tendency which appears at the time to be most generally valuable for society, their formal expression serving to repress and inhibit the opposite impulse. Thus an external effort at stabilization is made. The great psychological importance and significance of rules of conduct, taboos, and customs to primitive peoples, are revealed by a fact to which ethnologists call attention; namely, that a man who transgresses the taboo must suffer the consequences of his sin, even though it was committed unintentionally or ignorantly. Even death from fear when the transgression is unknown to the tribe is reported in some cases, affording an illustration of the power of the collective representations when the individual is wholly identified with them.

Psychoanalysis has called attention to this belief in the "omnipotence of thought," as characteristic of young children, of primitives and of obsessional neurotics. There is a difference, however, between the neurotic and the primitive process; it lies in the individual relation to the idea. Primitives are closely identified with their thoughts; the energy of

the psychic processes is united with them, for these people are still inadequately integrated in consciousness, and dominated largely by the "collective unconscious" (Jung).

The obsessional neurotic, in contradistinction, is cut off from the unconscious, the obsessional thought appearing to him as something alien and separate from his conscious personality. It invades his psychic integrity as it were, in spite of his conscious recognition of its irrational and absurd or undesired character. No such recognition occurs in the primitive or the child. *He is at one with his thought or his wish, and therefore it carries an actual potency with it.* Indeed the omnipotence of thought has many advocates and we have several modern cults based on the conception that thoughts are things, are energy carriers, that they have magic power, etc. Job's cry, "For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me," is an ancient expression of the same conception.

The attitude of the child towards his thought reveals for a brief moment only the psychology of the primitive towards his, for the modern child soon learns that in its effect upon reality it is quite powerless. Only for his dream world does it serve. His gains from reality are entirely bound up with his parents, chiefly with the mother, for he has learned with the first awakening of consciousness that the satisfaction of his needs is entirely dependent upon her or the one substituted for her. Therefore in the earliest years she symbolizes both a love object and an ego object. It is through the medium of the mother that his desires find gratification and the normal relation is one of *participation mystique*—the term used by Levy-Bruhl to describe the undifferentiated condition of the primitive in relation to his environment.

It is this primary identification or psychic union with the parents that is the basic factor in the imitative process which plays such an enormous part in child development, and which in its beginning is quite unconscious. The moods of the mother, the tones of her voice, her attitude to the external world and

its varying objects, are all faithfully reproduced in the child—not through conscious imitation, but through an unconscious identification. It is this factor so fateful for the child's future life and development that appears to be overlooked by Freud in his sexual theory.

The proper psychological task for every one on reaching puberty can be symbolically expressed as the *overcoming of the parents*. For the boy this means a struggle with his father, in order that he may separate himself from the childish dependent state and win his strength and manly freedom. By projecting his individual and ego tendencies against the imago of the father, he is gradually able to overcome his identification with him and to discover his own unique capacities and character which he needs for the adult task of achievement in the world. A similar problem awaits the girl in relation to the mother.

So important is this psychological task that it exists whether the child has living parents of his own or not. If, owing to circumstances, he has had no concrete infantile relation with his own parents to overcome, he, nevertheless, will have created phantasy parents in place of the real ones. The child who reaches adolescence without the opportunity for this actual psychic struggle is at a great disadvantage in life. Goethe expressed this psychological task in the words spoken by Faust, "What you have inherited from your fathers you must make your own in order to possess it."

This is particularly true for the boy who has escaped having to do battle in a direct personal encounter with a real object on whom the symbol is placed. Lacking this, his masculine functioning is likely to be an identification with an imaginary ideal father, instead of the genuine achievement of his own strength. A similar misfortune occurs when the father is weak and inferior in the eyes of the son, or if he lacks masculine force or aggressiveness; in which case a certain contempt may exist in the son. This may be conscious or unconscious, and

the youth finds himself able to assert his will and desires much too easily. He lacks the opportunity for an actual proving of himself, and misses the triumphant feeling of earning his manhood and his natural rights. This was recognized among the primitives in the painful pubertal rites and feats of endurance and valor demanded by the tribal customs before the youth was accepted in the tribe as a man.

The normal and uncomplicated psychological relation of the child to the parent is an identification by the son with the father, and by the daughter with the mother (although the natural tendency of the child may be quite different from the parent of the same sex). This is the adolescent problem of the ego which is as yet unable to stand independent and alone. It is analogous in the life of the civilized youth to the relation in primitive life of the adult to the tribe.

This problem of unconscious identification is quite distinct from the problem of love; for the parent with whom the child is identified may not be loved by him at all, but instead be the one whom he fears or hates, or one for whom contempt is held, or who does not command his respect. Under these latter conditions the child will suffer doubly from the identification for, through this mechanism, all unaware, his contempt and lack of respect become directed towards himself. His escape from the identification is rendered impossible by reason of the absence of the necessary struggle of puberty, due to the inferior or weak masculinity of the father. There is really no father to overcome, and thus the youth is handicapped when the personal father is replaced by the collective father—the world of reality—and this later struggle is begun. I have never seen a man who has escaped this personal conflict who has not shown some serious effects of this loss. Further, if he desires to develop his own individual capacities he will still have to take up this problem from the psychological standpoint, even though no longer projected on to the actual father, in order to win his freedom as a reality.

Besides the simple direct situation of boy and girl identified

each with the parent of the same sex, many variations of this normal model are found, and it is in the mixing of the symbols of father and mother that the greatest difficulties and psychological complications arise. For example, the mother who is the natural love object of the boy may also hold the symbol of the father. This can happen when there is no father, or when the father is less able, or less well adapted than the mother. If she assumes active duties and responsibilities in relation to the family, standing between the family and the world, while the father is quiet and retiring, and plays a secondary rôle, then the boy is apt to give to her the admiration and respect that properly belongs to the father. Thus the mother becomes an overloaded symbol for him, and a most difficult problem is presented. Because she is the real love object he cannot struggle freely against her and deal with her as simply as he should deal with the conflict over the father.

When the father symbol, signifying power, authority and masculine reality, is projected upon the mother in addition to what normally appertains to her maternal tenderness and love, there is presented to the boy in all its force, what may be called *the original problem of man;* namely, *the necessity of escaping the overwhelming power of woman.*

His is a mighty task; if he can accomplish it without doing violence to his love, he will develop great strength and character. His efforts to grapple with the masculine problem projected upon the mother may fail and this can produce a peculiar psychic reaction; he may identify himself with the weaker father, which holds him in an inferior position all his life, or he may play the bully, or be harsh or indifferent to women, always seeing in them rivals and antagonists. Whenever men show marked hostility, or irritation against woman or her activities, or evince a great desire to prove that women are inferior, they reveal their unredeemed bondage to the mother, due to the undifferentiated ego and love libido. For when one is secure in oneself, there is no interest in proving the inferiority of another.

Again, if the father, instead of being inferior, is overstern and authoritative, appearing in the family only as an unredeemed symbol of power, the son may turn away in fear from his adolescent task, arrested before he has begun, not daring to give adequate expression to his necessary struggle.

It will be seen that there are many modes of reaction to the problem, the particular one chosen depending largely on the psychological type of the child. The boy may remain weak, playing the inferior rôle and clinging as a child to the mother; or, the need for his individual life becoming acute, he may run away, preferring to take his chances with the world instead of with the father; or he may become the pale shadow of his father, always playing a secondary part and never breaking through the infantile identification which serves to conceal his own individual characteristics and tendencies.

It is also to be noted that any of these different reactions may take place quite apart from the actual behavior of the parents, for it is astonishing to discover how small a part in the youthful problem the actual facts often play. As Jung puts it, it is the libido of the child and its adequate utilization for the young life that is the real difficulty. The parental environment provides the stage on which the young actor must play his part. He projects upon this stage the imagos that his own psychology creates—now this, now that—frequently in entire ignorance that the reality is quite different from his conception.

At the commencement of life the mother stands in the same relation to both male and female infants, and both sexes are in the same relation to her. She brings them forth, nurses and cares for them alike, so that through the satisfaction of the needs of the organism, the first love of both arises for the same object. In the earliest period of the infant's life it is wholly self-identified or self-enclosed but, with the gradual awakening of its psychic functions, its close identification with the mother is revealed. This holds true for infant psychology as a whole. The little girl must make a breach in her primary attachment to the mother, transferring the developing libido

to the father, if she follows the normal heterosexual lines postulated by Freud. When the transference is successfully achieved, she has taken the first step from the primary object, and has made a valuable psychic adaptation. For the little boy, however, no transference of this kind takes place if he follows the normal heterosexual lines. On the contrary, his primary attachment is continued and reinforced.

Therefore the character of masculine love is more apt to retain an infantile stamp and the love of man may be something entirely apart from his actual sexuality. This separation between his love and his sexuality marks an important distinction between the erotic life of man and woman. For man a satisfactory sexual expression is possible without surrendering to the claims of a real love, while for women in general their love and sexuality are inextricably mingled, and this fact may be partially determined by this primary difference in the early transference of libido by the girl from her own sex to the other.

In emphasizing this characteristic of the girl I do not mean to infer that the little boy does not give love to his father. The love for the father is the natural secondary love which renders such an important contribution to the development of the masculinity of the boy through the processes of identification and imitation. But if, going beyond this norm, a transference of the same character as that of the girl is made to the father, then, because he is of the same sex as the boy, the foundation is laid for the later development of homosexual tendencies, either through the emphasis on the feminine component of his organism or through the stressing of the narcissistic phase. Nor, in the case of the girl, in whom the natural movement of the libido from mother to father takes place, is it implied that she does not continue to love her mother; indeed it is the mother's part to provide the model with which the little girl identifies herself, just as the father, with whom the later inevitable struggle for separation from the identification takes place, provides the model for the boy.

It is not uncommon to find that, instead of the normal transference of the little girl's libido to the father, this libido also remains in its primary attachment to the mother; then for her also there is developed an overburdened mother symbolism. The absence of a real father does not necessarily produce this condition, for the father ideal may serve quite as well, often better, than the actual father, because uncorrected by reality. I have seen many women who never saw or contacted their own fathers, to whom nevertheless the father imago was a psychic reality quite as efficacious in carrying the libido of the daughter as the actual father could have been, and whose psychological drama was played quite completely in relation to the father symbol.

The commonest external cause of the girl's failure to make the transference to the father lies in the disregard and indifference of the father towards his children, or in his failure to enter into and share their lives, or because he stands in the home simply as a symbol of power and authority, whom the child fears and dislikes. In such circumstances it is understandable that the little girl clings to the parent who gives her personal attention and affection. Thus the power of the mother becomes as greatly overweighted for her as it does for the boy, although from the opposite side, because the love which should go to the father by virtue of his sex and function is still attached to the mother. In such cases great difficulty is experienced by the girl over the problem of natural identification with the mother and the struggle belonging to it. Its absence may serve to keep her sexually infantile, and childish in her ego function so that she always remains dependent and unable to find any separate life for herself. The natural fear of the young girl over her sexual fate is augmented, so that great difficulty in the selection of a mate is experienced, because the reactions are those of a sexually immature child. The normal pubertal struggle with the mother is delayed or remains in the unconscious, inhibited because of the strength of the love bond. Or, if the ego is dominant then the struggle becomes one of an

over-intensive character, and unfortunate strained relations, so common between mother and daughter, ensue. Wherever this struggle is too prolonged and severe, it is a certain sign that the opposite feeling—the emotional fixation—is equally great, and the psychic conflict is intensified in the effort for subjective freedom. Thus for the girl, the mother problem is very frequently just as important as it is for the boy.

The transfer of symbols takes place in another manner, depending upon the general characteristics and relation of the parents in the family. The father may be loved under the symbol of the mother and the mother under the symbol of the father. This can produce a profound confusion in the minds of the children, for while both parents receive love, the ego struggle of the girl is projected on the father, and that of the boy on the mother, for occasionally identification is made with the parent of the opposite sex.

The symbols of father and mother are imperishable and with them is involved the personal destiny of the child. His entire future largely depends upon his proper relation to these symbols.

Besides this great problem of the child's reaction to the parents and the symbols under which they are perceived, there is another problem equally important for any adequate understanding of the situation, and that is the question of the psychological type to which the child belongs. The type will determine the particular personal reaction of the individual child to the environmental situation, and accounts for the entirely different impression and effect the same family milieu produces upon its different members.

It is in the early years that those confusing conditions arise which obscure the particular type of the individual child and render the adult permanently a victim of conflicting tendencies which appear to negate one another and annul his endeavors. The child's own psychological type may be covered up through imitation and identification and be lost under the cloak of the parent's type. This produces a false form of adaptation and

an erroneous conception of the personality. The adopted characteristics generally reveal their illegitimacy and inadequacy for the individual through their exaggeration and access of affect. Certain qualities seem a misfit in the character, so that one is inclined to think it odd that such and such a trait appears. In other words, there are characteristics which reveal themselves as not arising from within, but as assumed from without, and are quite inharmonious with the natural persona.

It is all of these confusing and complex aspects of the individual's psychology which render any simple solution impossible. Such causes as a desire for incest with the parents, narcissism, or an anal-erotic fixation, or a castration complex, are wholly inadequate as an interpretation of these delicate and differing shades of human behavior. One or more of these factors nearly always plays a part in the individual problem and can be demonstrated under one form or another in nearly all individuals whether normal or neurotic. But there are other factors which, in my opinion, are far more fundamental and it is these I propose to discuss more fully in a succeeding chapter from the standpoint of the psychological types.

III

THE UNCONSCIOUS

Its Dynamic Manifestations in Human Life

THE cornerstone of psychoanalysis may be said to be the conception of the unconscious. Indeed this may be expressed from the other side just as well, for this technic can be said to have brought the conception of the unconscious into a clear and definite position. Through the work of psychoanalysis the unconscious has attained a reality and a significance even greater than that of consciousness itself; and this realm has been opened and presented as a proper field for psychological investigation.

The conception of the unconscious is not new. Leibnitz makes a definite reference to the idea of a mental functioning which occurs without consciousness or awareness of the subject. He speaks of "unconscious ideas," and declares them to be the bond which "unites every being with the rest of the universe." In his discussion of "appetition" he refers to the unconscious striving of desire, to the inability of desire to attain its entire aim, and he recognizes the influence of desire on consciousness. Kant, also, seems to value the important part played by unconscious ideation. In his *Anthropology* he speaks of "becoming aware indirectly that we have an idea although we be not directly cognizant of the same . . . innumerable are the sensations and perceptions of which we are not conscious, although we must undoubtedly conclude that we have them: obscure ideas they may be called (to be found in animals as well as in man). The clear ideas exposed to consciousness are indeed but an infinitely small fraction of these."

It was Von Hartman, however, whose exhaustive work on

the unconscious brought him to the consideration of the concept as an entity and it is with him we associate the dynamic conception of the unconscious. In his book, *The Philosophy of the Unconscious,* he discusses the subject from all aspects, drawing upon the scientific data as well as upon the philosophical and metaphysical concepts of his day. Although much of his material and discussion belongs to a phase of thought now superseded, nevertheless many of his statements regarding the unconscious are in all important respects similar to those now reached empirically, through the technic of psychoanalysis. Consequently when Freud presented his theory of the neuroses based on the recognition of unconscious desires and their power over the behavior and activities of man, and summed up his deductions regarding this entity in the phrase, "The unconscious can only wish," he was expressing the same idea that Von Hartman had enunciated some years earlier in his statement, "The unconscious can only will."

Many other writers have discussed the unconscious, or referred to it, as a definite concept. William James conceives of it as a source of power and as possessing a definite value for conscious human life. But, although it had been acknowledged and its significance in human life recognized, Freud was the first to make practical use of this knowledge and, through the technic he developed, he was able to render some of the contents of the unconscious accessible to consciousness. To the psychoanalytic method, which separates it from the admixture of metaphysics and mysticism with which it was surrounded, we owe all our present understanding of the unconscious. The recognition that it possesses a dynamic value of even greater significance than that of consciousness, has made possible an advance in the understanding of human behavior which is of immeasurable importance for practical purposes as well as for students of human psychology in general.

In the beginning Freud conceived the unconscious as developing from the repression of the instinctive desires and wishes of early childhood. Through education in the service of cul-

ture these "evil wishes," as he calls them, are inhibited and rendered unconscious. However, the affective energy connected with these early infantile desires (although they are themselves banished from consciousness) remains active and creates the unconscious, from where they continue to play a part in the neuroses as well as in the development of character.

He also conceived of a series of complicated psychic mechanisms which function unconsciously and serve the purpose of converting these wishes into forms suitable for expression in consciousness. Through these means the wishes are enabled to obtain gratification in a round-about way. The dream, which is a product of unconscious psychic activity, provides a mode of expression; consequently Freud considers the dream to be always a wish-fulfilling mechanism. Thus the unacceptable and unobtainable wishes banished from conscious activity are expressed in a harmless form. From Freud's standpoint, therefore, the unconscious consists of the repressed and forgotten wishes of childhood and the accompanying complicated psychic processes, producing dreams, symptoms, and other similar manifestations: *"The Unconscious is the infantile mental life."* [1] Ernest Jones, a strict follower of Freud, says: "The splitting of the mind into conscious and unconscious processes represents an acquired state of affairs and is not a primary possession."

This general idea of the unconscious is the conception which several writers interested in psychoanalytic methods have accepted. One of these is Rivers, who attempts to explain a physiological process by means of the psychoanalytic theory of repression.[2] He confines his conception of the unconscious to those concrete and individual experiences which have succumbed to the normal repressive mechanism and have been forgotten. He refers to the close relation of the unconscious and instinct, and conceives of the unconscious as a "storehouse of experience associated with instinctive reactions," but

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 178.
[2] Rivers: *Instinct and the Unconscious.*

limits the use of the term "the unconscious" to "those earlier forms of mental activity and mental experience which have not been capable of utilization by the process of fusion but have required the more drastic measure of suppression." [1] He does not refer to phylogenetic racial experiences which have never been consciously active and, therefore, could not be forgotten, but which can be demonstrated under special conditions as existing in the unconscious and affecting the attitude of the individual.

The physiological phenomenon which Rivers uses as a possible analogy to psychological repression concerns Head's experiments and observations on the cutaneous sensibility associated with the regeneration of a divided nerve. The protopathic sensibility in which the sensations are of a crude, undifferentiated and vague character marks the first stage of the returning sensation. This is gradually replaced by the finely graded, discriminatory type of cutaneous sensation, the epicritic, which we recognize as normal. The latter epicritic type gradually replaces the former crude type, when the integrity of the nerve is reëstablished. Rivers suggests that the earlier, cruder form, the protopathic sensation, belonged to an earlier phase of racial history; that it has been suppressed in favor of the more refined and discriminatory epicritic sensibility; but that it still remains beneath, ready to come into activity under pathological conditions.

We know that this crude type of sensation together with the mass reflex is the sole form of sensation experienced by some of the lower organisms; but whether the mechanism of suppression can be called upon to account for its absence in all the higher animals under normal conditions is an open question. Nevertheless, Rivers emphasizes the fact—and here is the important point in his argument—that we are not dealing, in the case of suppression of protopathic sensation, with the "suppression" of *individual experience* but with the suppression of *racial experience* belonging to an earlier phase

[1] Rivers: *Instinct and the Unconscious,* p. 33.

of humanity. The fact that it is possible under special conditions to follow the suppression of this experience in the individual, "suggests that the racial suppression is repeated in every individual as part of the recapitulation of the race history." [1]

The natural conclusion drawn from such premises would be that a psychological suppression in relation to the race mind also exists, and that the psychological functioning characteristic of an earlier period of humanity could be demonstrated under certain conditions. This type of mental functioning, which we know belonged to the past history of the race, would constitute for modern man the absolute unconscious, because it precedes all individual experiences including the infantile, and it would be analogous in the psychological sphere to the protopathic sensation in the physiological. But Rivers did not make this deduction. He limits psychic repression to those concrete, conscious experiences of childhood lost to memory in later life.

He calls attention to the fact that, if the protopathic form of sensation had once been the normal type which was suppressed in the course of development, it could only now appear in the individual as part of the recapitulation of the racial history, and could have no part in normal conscious sensation. He thus suggests a physiological counterpart for those psychological phenomena which reveal the persistence of mental attitudes and responses that we know were the normal processes of the primitive mind, but which we fondly imagine have long disappeared from the modern mind. These suppressed manifestations of primal mental activities, which often break through into consciousness with the strength of a crude undifferentiated impulse, provide the analogy to a suppression of the protopathic sensibility. These are the implications overlooked by Rivers in conceiving of psychic repression as limited to the life of the individual.

As a matter of fact, the emotional reactions and mental

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

processes of the primitive are much nearer at hand in point of time than the primary physiological sensation. Many of these processes are indicated, although in immature form, in the phases of psychic development passed through by the child. They are not always frankly experienced, for the culture into which the child is born and which he imbibes with his mother's milk interferes with this. That they appear at all, even for a brief period, must indicate that the original psychic attitudes and reactions of the organism continue to persist, even though so overlaid with the culture of the present day that they pass early from external manifestation in thought and action.

It is thus evident that we are dealing with a phenomenon very inadequately explained by the conception of individual repression. For any real comprehension of the extremely varied aspects of the unconscious, we need a much wider basis than the psychoanalytic theory, as summed up in the words of Jones, affords:

> The statement of most fundamental importance and the one on which I wish to lay the greatest stress here, concerns both the origin and the contents of the unconscious.—It is to the effect that the existence of the unconscious is the result of repression.[1]

Freud himself appeared to widen this original picture of the unconscious and stated:

> Unconscious is no longer a name for what is temporarily latent: the unconscious is a special realm, with its own desires and modes of expression and peculiar mental mechanisms, not elsewhere operative.[2]

In this later conception an approximation seems to be made to the ideas of the unconscious worked out by Jung. But,

[1] Jones: *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, p. 123.
[2] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, pp. 178-179.

with this statement, Freud did not repudiate his original conception: namely, that repression produces the unconscious. The unconscious therefore is still treated as consisting solely of individually repressed evil thoughts, feelings and desires, all active and striving to become conscious, but prevented from so doing by a force belonging to culture which he calls the censor.

From this standpoint man is carrying with him at all times caged evils which are ready to spring forth, at any relaxation of the censor. These evil forces are so powerful and insistent that, when they are prevented from making themselves known, they find a way to gain an indirect expression by creating symptoms. Thus they now afflict the life of their host instead of the person against whom they are directed. This is one way of viewing the unconscious and, since valuable results have been accomplished by the aid of this conception, it is valid as far as it goes, even though it provides but a partial view.

There is another way of comprehending the unconscious, however; one which includes the Freudian concept, and at the same time presents a larger vision and a more comprehensive scheme for an understanding of the varied phenomena not satisfactorily dealt with in Freud's theory.

A study of the character traits and symptom formations of neurotic individuals, and of the various reactions of different persons to the same stimulus, together with a close observation of the behavior of normal people, soon forces one to the realization that consciousness plays the smaller part in the total psychic life of all people. The psychological functions and psychic processes manifest themselves in varying degrees; the feelings and reactions, responses to the stimulus of the environment and the self, are of a totally diverse character in the various psychological types of individuals. This state of affairs exists without any conscious perception on the part of individuals themselves but it accounts for the varying behavior of different persons toward similar stimuli. In the last

analysis the cause of this depends largely upon the relation of the individual to the unconscious when conceived of as the original state from which human consciousness has evolved.

We thus approach the study of the unconscious from an opposite direction to that of Freud, Rivers, and others: namely, from the direction of the infra-human life, and from that of the beginning of child life. Instead of judging the child entirely by ideas gained through adult consciousness, we view him as an immature being living almost wholly in the unconscious; one whose psychic functions are only gradually emerging into consciousness. From this approach to the problem, individual repressions account for only a minor portion of the unconscious. For the understanding of human psychology, it appears more profitable, therefore, to use the concept of repression as an *accessory* mechanism, producing a particular part of the unconscious, than to employ it as an exclusive causal agent.

The conception which I have gained of the unconscious through analytic work is well expressed by Conklin, from whom I quote:

> We not only came out of a state of unconsciousness, but through several years we were gradually acquiring consciousness by a process of development . . . it (consciousness) must pass through many stages in the course of its development, stages which would commonly be counted as unconscious or subconscious states, and complete consciousness must depend upon the complete development and activity of other faculties, particularly associative memory and intelligence.[1]

This hypothesis of the unconscious as the primary psychic condition, with the conception of a gradually emerging consciousness, can be corroborated through the psychoanalytic procedure. The fact that individuals vary in degrees of consciousness, according to the stage of development of their

[1] Conklin: *Heredity and Environment*, p. 78.

psychic functions, is a matter of daily observation and is responsible for many differences among persons who nevertheless possess a similar type mechanism.

In a minor way the existence of degrees of consciousness may be recognized by an experience common to the majority of persons. When a new idea or thought, or a new object, is presented to the mind we become aware of it, we believe that we know it and understand it sufficiently; we may be able to discuss it intelligently, and the subject disappears. After a time, perhaps, it is brought up again or recurs spontaneously to the mind. Suddenly we see in it a greater significance. We realize its further meaning and relationship, and we become aware of a knowing entirely different from the first perception and knowledge. The relations and significances possessed by the object were the same in the first instance as in the second, but our consciousness did not embrace them and until this was deepened through the participation of other psychic functions, we were unaware of the total significance. James refers to a similar phenomenon: "The simplest rudiment of mystical experience would seem to be that deepened sense of a maxim or formula that occasionally sweeps over one. 'I've heard that said all my life,' we exclaim, 'but I never realized its full meaning until now.' " [1]

The unconscious, then, is the original state out of which each child emerges afresh; comparable to the original state of mankind before any conscious cultural development had taken place, and analogous to the psychic status of animals. The various psychic functions which appear and become integrated, forming the ego, the conscious "I," are subjected to a continuous adaptive process in relation to the environment, so that their development proceeds by use. Where the function is latent, and therefore very little used in the adaptive process, we can say it is in the unconscious, or in an undeveloped and instinctual form.

The unconscious from this standpoint, therefore, includes

[1] James: *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 382.

not only all the individual psychic perceptions and impressions occurring without awareness, but also the instinctive activities and reactions to environmental experiences which have disappeared from consciousness. It also includes those which the race has experienced through its long history. It is the original matrix in which lie all the potentialities and possibilities of man's future, as well as the primary impulses with the great modifications they have undergone during the long ages of human existence.

The chief characteristic of unconscious functioning is the direct and compulsive quality of the activity which brooks no interference. It possesses also a fund of energy far greater than that which is at the command of the individual in his ordinary conscious functioning, where the force of the energy has been weakened by the friction produced by passing through conscious control. This control, exercised by consciousness in response to the demands of culture, is chiefly produced by the force called by Freud repression. It is a force born of the resistance that exists between the individual and his environment and principally serves the aim of individual development by unconsciously producing a forced integration of the various psychic functions and impulses with the ego.

Chief among these impulses is the creative urge which, in the animal, is confined strictly to sexual reproduction but which, in man, appears as a general, widely diffused impulse in which sexual reproduction is but one form of its activity. As is clearly revealed through the technic of psychoanalysis and as can be easily observed in the primitive and the child, all impulses, in their natural and unredeemed state, are ambivalent; therefore, besides the creative impulse there is also the destructive impulse; or, to express it differently, an impulse exists which manifests itself in a creative or in a destructive activity. In life lies the seed of death which operates with equal certainty and power. The history of man shows in no

uncertain way with what strength and power the instinctive impulse operates. Among all peoples, the nearer they are to the unconscious—that is, the more the instinctive and primal impulses directly influence their activity—the more destructive this activity is likely to be.

For individual man has attained a dangerous freedom in the disposal of his libido. He now can use it in the service of his individual ego and in the service of that extension of himself which we call culture; and, in pursuit of purely egoistic aims, destruction plays as dominant a part as creation. Indeed, persons acting under the direct influence of unconscious impulses reveal a strength and energy together with a directness of action which seem to ally them with the primal forces of nature. It is as though the activity and power, manifestations of energy in the individual, belonged to the same category of cosmic phenomena as the storm, the wind, and the rain; and their effects on him reveal a character similar to the changing aspects of the sun, the sea, and the earth, where the peace and beauty of a summer day are succeeded by the storm and fury of an angry power.

These compulsive states are more characteristic of human beings than of animals, for the latter are rigidly confined to their necessary functioning in the service of the species and do not generally run amuck in the chaotic and unmotivated way which is the particular privilege of humans. For the human species, the individual is the important factor, the group serving him as a protection and aid: for all other forms of living creatures, the individual is only an incident and the race or the species is the important factor. Man has talked, to be sure, as if the race were paramount, but he actually lives for himself.

Young children are those in whom we may most easily see the normal functioning of the unconscious. We can observe in them the activity of impulse and instinct free from the differentiation between good and evil, for the knowledge of

good and evil, in the human sense, has come only through culture and training. The unconscious, therefore, not only harbors "evil wishes"; it also harbors the opposite, good impulses, which are quite as lawless and natural as the evil ones.

The unconscious proper is not formed or created by the individual in response to culture but exists a priori behind all culture. However, there is added to this original matrix with its special laws and activities, in which primary man began, the slowly growing cultural development which each generation achieves and transmits to the next. As the generations move off the stage of the present, and become the past, much is carried with them, lost to the consciousness of the present, but none the less leaving traces behind. This succession of generations has gradually produced through eons of time a great cultural past; the activity and effort involved in the production of these achievements has influenced the general human psyche during the slow evolution of the race out of its complete *participation mystique,* and has contributed to the development of the complex psychic functioning of modern man.

In this way the great modification of impulse and psychic development shown in the complexity of culture has been produced, and these effects of racial activity are gradually added to the original impulse activity to form the content of the unconscious. This aspect of the unconscious belongs to the racial inheritance in general and, for the sake of clarity and for practical purposes, it is desirable to differentiate between this aspect and that which is created by the individual in his life time through repression, and through the normal forgetting of experience.

There is another source contributing to the content of the unconscious—the many impressions that register on the psychic apparatus of the individual but produce no perceptible effect upon consciousness. Under special conditions, it is often possible to bring these impressions into consciousness. This proves that they have been received. It is these latter impressions to which Kant refers, and which together with for-

gotten memories and personal reactions Freud called the contents of the fore-conscious.[1]

However, there is no need to discuss here the various terms used by different writers to discriminate the relation of the material to consciousness—sub-conscious, pre-conscious, fore-conscious, etc.: Jung has offered a practical method avoiding confusion by differentiating the unconscious into the *collective unconscious* when the contents and activity belong to racial inheritance, and the *personal unconscious* when they belong to the individual experience. When the dreams, phantasies, and other psychic material produced by the individual concern his personal experience and, through association, bring up forgotten impressions and incidents concerned with his actual life, the *personal unconscious* is the aspect involved. For some persons the analytic work is concerned entirely with making this repressed material conscious and reducing conscious attitudes based on these repressions to their unconscious determinants.

In that aspect of the unconscious called by Jung the *collective unconscious,* a totally different content presents itself. Concepts, phantasies, dreams, and feelings emerge which are not connected with any personal experience; on the contrary they reveal an impersonal quality that links them up with material belonging to racial experience and thought, as expressed in mythology, religions, the cultural activities of antiquity and of primitives. Although the modern forms of speech are used, the mode of using them and the ideas and concepts underlying them belong to a form of thinking and feeling which once was universal and general and is known to us as archaic. The individual in whom this aspect of the unconscious is active often does not recognize the various images and psychic contents as his own, but considers the material flooding his consciousness as alien and without personal significance. He looks upon it with amazement and wonders from where the ideas come. The common racial background

[1] Freud: *Interpretations of Dreams,* p. 488.

has become activated, and has invaded consciousness, replacing those organized individual excerpts of the unconscious that, combined with the cultural background into which we are born, produce that familiar entity we recognize as the personal self.

The universal and common ideas which dominate this type of functioning form that aspect of the unconscious to which Leibnitz refers when he declares them to be "the bond which unites every being with the rest of the universe." Jung expresses a similar idea in saying: "The unconscious is that which is the generally diffused and which not only binds people among themselves but also unites them backward with peoples of the past and their psychology."

This discussion, however, does not mean to imply that there is a sharp line of demarcation between the personal and collective character of the unconscious material, for here, as elsewhere in living processes, there is always a merging and fusing of one element with another and, in the realm of psychic functioning, clear differentiation is particularly difficult. The important distinction lies in the fact that conceptions and imagery appear and are used in a collective way instead of being drawn from personal experience and referring to objective conditions. From the character of the phantasy or the dream product, together with the attitude adopted towards it, we are made aware of being in the presence of a form of psychic functioning which in no way differs from that of the archaic or primitive mind. This type of mental functioning may produce feelings and ideas which obviously do not appertain to the personal or individual capacities, but to superhuman wish creations or cosmic dreams.

The collective unconscious is the workshop, the factory, where the raw material of sense perceptions and objective experience, as well as the immediate body of culture, is broken up, transformed, and elaborated into new forms and expressed in consciousness in strange new ideas, cosmic phantasies, and in various kinds of arts and inventions. It is the source of the

creative energy, the libido, manifested either in the destructive or in the creative aspect. This activity is universal and unceasing and is most easily observable in its varied forms among those persons who have become overwhelmed by the contents of the collective unconscious.

Before proceeding further, it is desirable that I give some explanation of what I mean by this condition and, in this connection, there are two points that I wish to emphasize.

First: that this state can be induced and does occur during the process of analysis for definite therapeutic purposes, and during the analytic technic, the stages and processes of the alien mental functioning may be observed, and the condition held at the same time under sufficient control to be utilized for the individual's welfare; second, that during this phase, one learns with astonishment that all the psychic mechanisms and attributes which we have believed belonged to primitive man are still existent and may be reproduced in the thoughts and feelings of ordinary individuals who are in no way neurotic.

The state of possession by the collective unconscious is most easily recognized in those pathological cases where the stable psychic organization has broken down temporarily and the impulses and feelings sweep the individual along regardless of his conscious will or reason. When this occurs spontaneously in persons whom we have always considered self-controlled and reasonable, the change in their behavior and psychic responses is so marked that it produces an arresting effect upon all whom they contact.

Besides these individuals in whom sporadic attacks are noted, there are countless persons who go through regular cycles in which, with recurring certainty, the normal state is succeeded by a depressed mood, to be followed by an eruption from the collective unconscious whereby the relations between external reality and psychological reality become reversed in such a way that external reality ceases to have validity and the inner state assumes total domination. Extreme sensitivity to all

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impressions from without, as well as from within, characterizes this condition and the rapidly changing feelings and psychic states are frequently accompanied by visual and auditory hallucinations, phantasies, and extravagant reactions. This condition, carried further, can be observed among psychotics. Here, however, normal adaptation has been completely lost. The physical sensations, archaic images, hallucinations, and phantasies, are not only utilized by consciousness as though concretely real, but they undergo a form of integration with the ego. Thus there is effected, in the material arising from the unconscious, an organization which is of a similar character to that occurring in normal persons in relation to external reality. This forms the great distinction between psychotics and those whose actions may appear unbalanced; the latter are in a state of disintegration only; the former are in a state of false organization.

In addition to these groups there are others; persons in whom there has never been any genuine sort of organized functioning, but who have always been completely identified with their irrational impulses and moods. With them it is not a question of the development and subsequent loss of that control, self-direction, and adaptation which we call normal; it is more an actual living of the unconscious itself from childhood, no other attitude or condition of consciousness being known. They are identified with the impulse itself and the ego possesses no distinct entity. The chief modification of the impulses possessed by such persons is that which is inherited, in contradistinction to the other types of persons who have built up, during their lifetime, some individual organization which can later be disrupted.

Besides these more or less pathological or badly integrated individuals in whom a spontaneous eruption of the collective unconscious has occurred, there is another class of persons in whom the phenomena characteristic of the collective unconscious can be observed. These individuals may appear very

well organized and stable; usually they present a quality of youthfulness and a certain naïveté. With them the possible psychic functions and capacities have only partially emerged from the unconscious. A very definite and stable integration may have been effected among the functions that they possess; but the difficulty lies in their lack of maturity and in the psychic limitation and inadequacy, which militate against the best interests of the individual.

It will thus be recognized that I consider it important not only to distinguish between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious, but also to discriminate between that which is unconscious for the individual because not yet differentiated out from the original state sufficiently to be included in the personality: i.e., certain functions which pertain to the complete process of cognition; and those actual feelings and desires belonging to a mode of thinking and acting which has undergone racial repression and belongs to phases of past human cultural epochs. In order to establish these persons in the possession of their latent functions and greater capacities, it is necessary first to break up their too limited psychic organization and to plunge them into the disturbing and chaotic waters of the collective unconscious. When, as happens in an intensive analysis, this condition is produced artificially through the analytic technic, a similar type of phenomena as before described is experienced. The stages and processes through which the individual passes may be studied and controlled, however, and, through the proper relation of the patient to the analyst, the condition can be utilized for the individual's welfare.

Although very great differences exist among these classes of individuals, there is, nevertheless, a close underlying relationship. In all of them it is obvious that, in some way, the integration and stabilization of psychological functions in the service of outer reality have become disturbed or fallen apart or have never been achieved, and the personality is invaded

by the direct energy expressed in instinctive impulses and in the archaic thought forms and phantasies of the collective unconscious.

It is during this temporary phase in which the formerly stable and reasonable person is overwhelmed by the collective unconscious that one discovers, as has been said, that all the psychic mechanisms and attributes which we have learned to call primitive are still existent and can be reproduced in the individual's thoughts and feelings at this time. Then we see the complete ambivalence of the emotions operating in a manner that has been thought characteristic of primitives and children only; we see frank egotistic conceptions and claims, a great overvaluation—or undervaluation—of the ego, an attitude of unquestioning and uncritical acceptance of the thoughts, phantasies and feelings of the subject, and dominant, above all, the energic manifestations which appear to the individual like a tremendous power released within him and which often threaten to overwhelm him.

This power appears very frequently to be something apart from himself which takes possession of him; he becomes identified with it and, feeling himself greatly enhanced, is swept on into intense activity. This can be readily recognized as a power similar to that which the savage feels and which he conceives as something outside of himself, a God or a demon or some unknown power. Observation of this state, or an experience with it, reveals clearly the source of the idea of demonic possession. No other term so adequately describes the actual activity and the non-human attitude which can dominate the person. When the force is projected into a concept or image outside of himself, then he may conceive himself to be the victim of an overwhelming external power and he consequently suffers an anguishing sense of weakness and impotence in relation to it. This raw energy released from the pressure of reality adaptation, and of the "I" complex, can activate the mind, causing it to become greatly stimulated and productive. Images and thoughts, feel-

ings and ideas formerly unknown in consciousness emerge, and one can glimpse the original processes at work through which new ideas and concepts arise to be tested out later by conscious application to reality.

The peculiar quality of domination by the unconscious is illustrated by the ineffectiveness of reason and directed will. These human functions are of no avail in influencing the rapidly changing moods or states of feeling which sweep the individual along willy-nilly. The impression of the moment, or the situation immediately at hand, is the only influence playing any part upon the person who is identified with the collective unconscious; wish and feeling alone serve as the determinants for action regardless of all other considerations. Adaptation is at a minimum and, for those who have suffered under a sense of inferiority in consciousness, the opposite, a sense of superiority which can transcend all normal bounds, is frequently the amazing accompaniment of this state. One man described his sensations thus:

> The conception of Universal Energy came into my mind and almost immediately the most overwhelming sensations occurred. I have never experienced anything like them. I was seized, not with fear, but with the most superhuman feelings as of some great cataclysmic event about to occur. I felt immense, beyond myself, and then burst out into convulsive sobbing. I seemed to be possessed by something outside of myself and beyond my control. I was shaken violently, and only after the utmost effort got control of myself.

On the other hand great weakness and lassitude, as extreme as the activity, may precede or substitute for the active condition. The pulse can be reduced to a scarcely perceptible thread, the respiration slowed, and a functional disturbance of the speech centers may occur, so that the speech is retarded and is often accompanied by a degree of aphasia; the loss of memory for words may become marked and a great inhibition of thought and expression may be experienced. This condition indicates an extreme state of introversion, when not only is

the libido withdrawn from objects, but the normal body functions are also affected in the general sinking of the libido into the depths. It is very difficult to maintain a firm position in the self, in the face of the bewildering phenomena which appear to overwhelm the personality and which affect every psychic function.

Jung employed a very good expression in the term God Almightiness which most aptly describes one of the marked phases of the identification with the collective unconscious. A study of this state gives an illuminating insight into the origin of the God concept and reveals clearly that the deepest wish of man is to become a God; not to become a child—but to surpass himself. This, of course, is manifested in the conscious attitudes of many people and is clearly recognized by the Jews in their saying that every Jewish boy hopes in his heart to be a Messiah, and every girl to be the mother of the Messiah.

When an identification with the collective unconscious takes place a regularly occurring phenomenon is, as before stated, a feeling of great power, or of a God-like mission and, very frequently, frank claims are secretly made of being a God oneself or being the mother of God, or related to God. These individuals feel themselves marked off from the rest of mankind and have a strong sense of some special and superior rôle to fill—this entirely regardless of the actual situation in which perhaps even the ordinary human duties have not been adequately achieved. Each one believes that he is the specially favored individual who possesses particular privileges and powers of a kind beyond the ken of ordinary mortals.[1]

An energy seemingly inexhaustible is one of the most striking phenomena presented by this state. Persons who formerly were delicate or weak, easily wearied and soon exhausted and unable to carry on a piece of work requiring a steady output of effort, under this influence become capable of an immense expenditure of energy—they are no longer fatigued but go on

[1] These phenomena were all experienced by Hitler.

endlessly doing things requiring great endurance, feeling capable of feats scarcely dreamed of before. As one person expressed it, "Nothing seems to tire me. I can work all day and all night, day in and day out, and still feel fresh and with an infinite capacity untouched." I have known delicate girls able while in this abnormal state, to carry on an immense activity requiring the greatest energy day after day, with a scarcely perceptible fatigue, and the tireless activity of certain types of psychotics is well known. Indeed, the creative activity of the manic has often been noted.

One knows also how much freer and less fatigued an individual is under the strain of even a long and difficult task when his "interest," as we say, is gained, and he feels the exhilaration which comes when his libido is associated with the task. Also there are occasions and situations arising abnormally in ordinary life when the individual reveals a strength and power which we call superhuman, and which is as far from his ordinary capacity and as amazing to him as it is to others; in such cases he tells us he didn't think or consider at all; he simply responded to the situation of the moment and lost all consciousness of himself. As far as the character of the mechanism is concerned, the ethical quality of deeds done in such a state is quite immaterial. The same process operates whether the action be one of the highest heroism or one of cowardly brutality. William James in his essay, *The Energies of Men,* discusses this problem of hidden reservoirs of power, when he refers to tapping different levels of energy.

Nowhere on a large scale can the effect of the collective unconscious upon the individual be so clearly observed as in war. Under the stimulus of that subtle mass feeling in which an unconscious identification with the primitive impulses takes place, the individual is affected as though under the influence of an intoxicant. He becomes vivified; he is aroused from apathy to life. From being a mediocre and easy-going personality, he catches fire, and the feeling of new life, of energy freed in the service of the primitive emotions, hate, fear, anger,

self-sacrifice shared with his tribe, drives him blindly and willingly even to death. That ego integration belonging to individual life, of which reason and understanding are the offspring, is swept aside as a trifle and the primary forces of impulse hold sway. It can be easily seen how weak is the psychic integration of the individual when opposed to the force of the mass emotions—how feeble is the strength of abstracted and differentiated psychic functions as expressed in thought and feeling when confronted with the powerful energies of the collective unconscious roused through contagion.

The collective unconscious is as unmoral as nature herself; creative desire or destructive impulse rules impartially; good and evil are non-existent from the standpoint of the impersonal power. Storm and sunshine, life and death exist each as a phenomenon of value only in relation to the great totality. The rain falls equally on the just and the unjust. The moral law, however, exists for the individual, and it appears as a content of his personal unconscious where it plays a very definite rôle in relation to his individual destiny.

It becomes evident that the development of culture and the increased strength of individual integration through adaptation to the principle of reality have been gained only at the expense of an enormous loss of free energy which might otherwise have been available to the individual. However, the points I wish to emphasize in this discussion are the loss of orientation to the self when under the domination of the collective unconscious, and the presence of an enormous energy (libido), freed from its confining limitations and operating as a creative-destructive force scarcely controllable by the individual experiencing the phenomena. Hallucinations and delusions, subjective sensations of all kinds, enter consciousness and, as Jung points out, the condition has a most disturbing likeness to a psychosis.

These various phenomena can all be experienced by the same person, or as is more common, one or another phase will

be recognized as occurring sporadically or at different times in the same or different persons. Their relationship, however, and the character of the manifestations are unmistakable.

What we now designate as the collective unconscious was in antiquity conceived of as "Fate." Man's powerlessness in the face of its inevitability was the never-ending theme of Greek drama. Antique man is portrayed as the puppet or sport of the gods, completely helpless in his individual capacity.

Modern man, self-conscious and emphasizing the individual, feels and responds to the tragic themes of Greek drama according to the degree of psychic integration achieved. Where this is firmly knit and the individual is strongly identified with his conscious adaptation, a barrier has been erected which separates him from the collective unconscious with its powerful impulses and trends, so that he may never be aware of even a reverberation of emotion from these old themes. On the other hand, his psychic integration may be so loosely knit that he is as emotionally shaken to-day as was the man of antiquity.

The Greek culture had achieved a definite separation in thought between individual man and the collective unconscious which, under the concept of Fate, was set over against him as a powerful determinant of his destiny. It was necessary to consider this power, for in the face of it man was small and helpless. Here lies the great distinction between the men of antiquity and the primitives. The latter have not attained this separation and consequently they are still in the closest association with the instinctive impulses, feelings, and thought processes. They are living in a state of identity with nature and, because limited to perception through the senses and without conceptual thinking, they must give objective value to every subjective impression produced upon them by the outer world.

In this way early primitive man, almost wholly undifferentiated, evolved his culture by projecting his subjectivity upon the world and developing thought. Depending upon his own

inherent power, man used his thought function to win his supremacy over nature and his separation from her. In contrast to the primitive and differing from the Greek, modern man has become so rationalistic in his attitude that his tendency is towards a non-recognition and denial of the unconscious whether called by the name of Fate or of God. Those mental processes which, in a pre-scientific age, produced mythology and explained natural phenomena in terms of anthropomorphic phantasies are still active but, on account of our culture, they do not so clearly manifest themselves in ordinary life and thought. The old forms of mental functioning are chiefly confined to dreams, to the production of phantasies and to the neuroses; only occasionally do they project themselves as realities in the life of the modern man.

In normal life we no longer take the phantasies as concrete facts in the way the primitives did, for we actually know something of the psychic processes and of the natural phenomena which produced their thinking and culture. In other words we have science. Nevertheless, it is as important for the modern man as it has ever been that he should recognize the existence and power of the unconscious, and gain some relation to it. He should not take it as objectively real but as symbolically real—a psychological entity instead of an actual entity, for only in this way can he avail himself of its values and protect himself from becoming a victim of its power.

Under this conception of an eruption of the collective unconscious into consciousness, it is possible to gather together and understand all those bizarre collective outbreaks, called hysteria, which have occurred in all periods of history—dancing manias, religious manias, fanatical orgies of different sorts, as well as individual manifestations of a related nature, where reason and conscious control are swept aside and ordinary human beings become capable of deeds of heroism, or deeds of violence, or of miraculous feats impossible under normal circumstances. The forms of expression are unlimited and the manifestations in the individual are frequently exactly the reverse of his usual

conscious attitude; so that Jung's conception that the function of the unconscious is compensatory to the conscious attitude, seems amply confirmed. However unaware of it we may be, these archaic processes of thinking and feeling are a part of the mental current of ordinary modern life. Frequently they emerge in the dream or in the day phantasies of entirely normal people. I shall give an illustration of what I mean by quoting a dream of this collective character.

The dreamer was an entirely normal business man who had no particular problems or conflicts as far as he knew, but who, after hearing about dream analysis, determined to overcome his ordinary dreamless sleep and capture a dream for the purpose of analysis.

He thereupon produced the following which made such an effect upon him that he was under its spell for the whole day.

> I was walking with I. C., who was taking me to see his house in the country. We were accompanied by his little girl. When we arrived there I found a small, unpretentious cottage. My companion seemed to have disappeared. Presently the little girl was attacked by some dog or animal and I defended and protected her. In gratitude she brought me a bunch of flowers and asked me to come out in the garden to plant them. I went out with her and commenced to dig in the earth. As I dug I suddenly became aware of something beneath, an eye, looking up at me. This startled me and as I watched it, it became larger, the earth was pushed up, and a huge head now emerged. I was frightened and stepped back, keeping my eyes fixed on it. It continued to emerge until at last a great, heavy-moving, huge beast such as was never seen on land or sea appeared, lifting itself out from the depths of the earth. It had the head of an elephant with a long trunk, the scaly body of a dragon, the feet of a horse and a tail like a snake, and seemed about a hundred feet high. As it moved lumberingly along I suddenly thought I must keep it from gaining entrance to the house, which now seemed to be that of my mother, and I rushed inside, closing up the doors and windows tight. In the upper

apartment there lived another family. I called out in some excitement to the woman above, as I heard the beast clattering up the stairs, "Look out; lock your door; the beast is coming!" On that she replied, "He is already here. I am not afraid but my husband is frightened and has hidden under the bed."

Here we see an extraordinary dream for an ordinary prosaic man having no known disturbance or personal problem to trouble him. It is very obvious that there is a great problem approaching him which for the moment is a collective one and has scarcely become personal. It appears in its collective form in the shape of this enormous beast which rises out of the earth.

I cannot go into the analysis of the dream here; I merely call attention to certain aspects of it which reveal the ancient myth elements latent in the normal man of to-day. First the eye appears as he commences to dig in the earth. The eye looking at him associates itself in his mind with the all-seeing eye, the eye of God (interpreted in Freudian terms, the eye of the father). But God's eye is usually imaged as in the heavens looking down, whereas this eye is in the earth looking up. Therefore, this must be an earth god or chthonic God (consequently, the eye of the mother), and it gradually comes into view in a form composed of parts of a number of different animals. Such a composite beast is not unknown in mythology where fabulous beasts are frequently represented as the enemies of man.

Another interesting feature in the dream is the man's fear of the beast contrasted with the woman's fearlessness. Through this allusion he tells us that this beast, composed wholly of libido sexualis symbols, is something more familiar and more easily managed by woman than by man and, through this generalized relation to it, he makes the problem one belonging to mankind in general and not to him specifically. That is, his attitude towards it has not become a personal one but is a collective attitude. It is quite true that Eros, here represented in composite animal form (instinct), for the man

FIG. 1. Representation of collective maternal power: merely breasts and umbilical cords. Note the cord on which the dæmons representing the pair of opposites, good and evil, disport themselves.

has been a terrible problem while for the woman it has been the *raison d'être* of her existence.

This dream reveals a mode of psychic functioning which formerly produced the same kind of conceptions in consciousness (mythology) as was surprised in the dream production of this modern man.

There occur, among many normal people, isolated forms of behavior and general psychic attitudes, mingled with the normal, rational, adaptive behavior, which can be recognized as due to the functioning of the collective unconscious. By this, I mean that the thought and actions of the individual on occasion partake largely of the original impulsive, unmodified, and indiscriminatory character, which is seen in its clearest form in the more complete states just described. In other words, that stable integration of self which provides the barrier separating the individual from the collective unconscious is incomplete or loosely knit.

In the compulsion neuroses one can observe the manifestations of a related type of functioning produced by the unconscious, which appear to the sufferer as meaningless and outside his conscious intention. The various individually imposed laws, ceremonials, and taboos which are in force among these compulsion neurotics, bear the closest resemblance to the rigid cultural codes existing among primitives, as has been pointed out by Freud. But there is this distinction. The latter participate as members of their tribe and consciously share the group beliefs and customs. The former carry out their ceremonials alone as individuals, and against their conscious beliefs and intention. Both, however, serve the same purpose —a defense and protection against the invasion of the collective unconscious and its domination over the self by the forces of the uncontrolled impulses of nature.

A study of the history of the cultural development of humanity reveals unmistakably the meaning and aim of the rigid restrictions and taboos which hemmed in the lives of primitives. These tribal customs imposed that discipline upon

the individual which he was unable to give himself and thus forced the gradual development of those psychic functions out of the collective unconscious that were destined to separate and distinguish him from the rest of animal life. Through tribal and collectively imposed discipline the self-conscious human race has been slowly erecting the dam between the unconscious and the conscious self, which, through the ages, has been growing higher, augmented by each stage of culture. Thus struggling man protects himself from again becoming engulfed by the undifferentiated forces out of which he has come. The normal integration of those excerpts of the collective unconscious, organized for ages under the concept of "I" as perceived by consciousness, replaces the primitive ceremonials and restrictions collectively imposed to produce the same effect.

There seems to be a great distance between ourselves as comparatively free individuals and the primitives with their restricted, burdened lives. Yet in the similar typically primitive ceremonials and taboos exercised by countless neurotic individuals we can observe how many weak spots there are in the dam and how imperfectly the human cultural development has transferred its force to the individual psychic organization.

I do not mean to imply that the compulsion neurotic has lost himself in the collective unconscious—not at all. But the integration of his personality has been weakened—he is in danger of its loss, and so, in an entirely irrational manner (from the standpoint of our culture), he defends himself by reverting to a primitive form of protection. He thus effectually cuts himself off from any contact with the collective unconscious and has no idea that there is any meaning or value in his apparently senseless acts.

As an illustration of the primitive phantasying which goes on among modern people, let me cite the idle dreaming of a sensible middle-aged woman in a New England country house. Noticing her gazing dreamily out of the window one day, I asked her suddenly of what she was thinking. With a laugh at her "foolishness" she said:

I was far away, imagining what I would do if a tiger or a lion should suddenly appear in the road and I was alone. I was thinking how I would call for help and, if no one appeared, how I could defend myself or, if some child was in the road, how I could defend it from these beasts. I was planning what means would be possible and successful.

Now we know that once this was an important problem and a very real question for the primitive man of the tropical jungle, and this phantasying might be understandable as a possible concrete experience in Africa or India, though even there these beasts are also used symbolically to represent a great dangerous force in nature. In America nothing actual in the life can produce this phantasy; therefore we call these collective unconscious symbols, because once they were the real objects of a primitive fear, but are now used for something else more near at hand than physical danger from lions or tigers. This subjective danger however is very far from any personal consciously felt fear or anxiety; it belongs entirely to the collective unconscious and not to the personal unconscious, because it is based on no personal experience and is manifested only as a mild phantasy of a summer day.

For those who might be inclined to question or challenge the statement that certain psychic productions of a distinct and peculiar character, which we call products of the *impersonal* or collective unconscious, can be distinguished from those other contents, phantasies and problems, concerned with the personal life, which we call products of the *personal* unconscious, there is another mode of expression which can hardly fail to produce a conviction. This expression takes the form of an artistic product. The simplest and most frequent type consists of drawings and modeled figures, produced quite independent of conscious direction or intention, by persons who have never learned any technic of drawing and who frequently have never attempted to draw before, nor have they evinced the slightest inclination towards such work.

We know that children, encouraged to draw and then left to themselves to produce without interference, often create remarkable conceptions bearing the closest resemblance to the extraordinary compositions produced by primitives and peoples of the most ancient cultures. A certain artist who had the desire to test the truth of the statement that all children are potential artists, gathered together a group of children chosen at random from the common schools of a city. He encouraged them to draw but without direction, and later gave a remarkable exhibition of their work. The drawings in this exhibition showed without question that archaic forms, which humanity has evolved through an immeasurable period of time, can be reanimated or reproduced with little modification by the creative activity when conscious direction and the influence of the immediate culture period can be put aside.

An interesting aspect of this work is the fact that the children generally lose this natural expression of the unconscious at about the age of twelve or thirteen years. As this artist has pointed out, their work from then on becomes artificial and banal. In other words, when the pubertal period arrives with the inner demand for adaptation to adult life and its immediate claims, the spontaneous creative libido is diverted from the old forms of expression, and the personal ego becomes identified with the conceptions and ideas of present day culture; so that the door is effectively shut on all that form of activity which belonged to the period of an ancient past.

The fact that this productivity can be revived in the adult almost universally is convincing proof of the existence of this capacity in a deeper layer of the mind, even though entirely unsuspected by the individual himself.

The character of the forms and conceptions spontaneously created in the drawings and images of adults who have no technical training or knowledge of art creation, but who, nevertheless, frequently produce work of great beauty, and always of a peculiar affective quality, could never be produced by conscious control or willed effort. Indeed, only after one is

able to withdraw conscious attention and direction and become sufficiently free from self-consciousness and willed intention, can the unconscious express itself. However, when this is possible, the archaic nature of the productions that come forth is convincing and effective, and to any one previously unacquainted with this activity the work is often amazing.

There seems to be latent in the majority of persons the capacity for what can be called picture-writing—that is, the creative activity, which is ceaselessly busy with finding modes of expression for the moods, feelings, and various psychic reactions of the individual, makes use of that oldest form of expression, picture drawing, quite spontaneously and without the necessity of conscious learning or even guidance. Non-interference with the spontaneous activity seems to be the only requirement for its manifestation and, in the manner of the production as well as in the form, one can observe all the characteristics which we have learned to recognize as belonging to the unconscious in contrast to the rational, ordered conscious mind. These productions, no matter how crudely formed and technically faulty, have a quality of truth, of living power, which is recognized immediately. It is this quality that contrasts most strongly with the ordinary drawing, even though technically perfect in form, produced through an intellectual attitude consciously directed.

The effect on the individual producing these creations is also characteristic. He recognizes a significance and validity in these expressions of himself which no words can define and which are quite independent of external influence. They unmistakably reveal the psychological condition of the individual producing them, although in an entirely collective form. They are analyzable just as are dreams of the same character and both products are produced by a similar mechanism.

The drawing (Figure 1) of a many-breasted octopus, a sea monster, is a symbolic representation of mother-power in a monstrous aspect and was produced by a woman as a first attempt at this form of expression. It is easy to read from this

the story of the most ancient struggle—that of the bondage to the mother who is here represented in impersonal and powerful form with tentacles like umbilical cords binding the children of men to her. In other words, there is here animated an entirely collective unconscious image without human or personal character. A marked contrast to this is the drawing on the next page (Figure 2) produced some time later by the same person. The beauty and quiet of both color and form with its simple symbolism is in direct antithesis to the first one, although conscious direction played no more part in one than in the other.

The two crude drawings (Figures 3 and 4) are the first efforts of another patient, a man, in this direction. The first one represents the male ego in its most primitive form. As will be seen, it presents nothing but a mouth and combined gastric sac and scrotum. The next, equally impersonal and crude, represents the female for him. Its power and relentlessness is symbolized by the rock which is split apart in order to form a mouth. This open mouth and the hard unfeeling eye represent a head, which forms the companion to the first one. The snake or spermatozoön representing the male principle is drawn inevitably to its destruction, the loss of itself within the gaping maw, and at the same time presents the motive of fertilization through the mouth. It reveals in the most elementary form the relation of the male to the female. These are forms arising from the collective unconscious and possess no connection with conscious ideas or with the personal unconscious.

The importance and potent power of the serpent symbolism for antiquity and primitive culture is well known by all students, but that it is no less important and significant for modern man in whom there is a definite amount of libido still attached to this primordial image is perhaps less known. The drawing, Figure 5, might be an archaic representation of the worship of some primitive man far more justifiably than what it actually is—the unconscious drawing of a modern man who

never before had made an attempt to draw. The serpent of renewal, rebirth, held aloft as an offering to the Sun to which the figure is addressing an invocation, is the theme of this production, and quite clearly tells its own story.

Equally archaic and presenting a similar theme is the drawing by a woman, Figure 6.

The beautiful colors that many of these drawings exhibit cannot be reproduced, but they make an unforgettable impression, and are in themselves significant for the producer.

IV

DREAM, PHANTASY AND SYMBOLISM

Their Present and Prospective Value for the Dreamer

The subject of dream analysis and the use of symbols has been the one over which the greatest difficulties have arisen, not only among scientific workers and medical men generally but also among the analysts themselves. It is impossible, however, to discuss psychoanalysis or analytic psychology without reference to this most important problem. The chief point of difference between the various groups of analysts lies in the manner of interpreting the dream material and in the use of symbolism, there being practically no question regarding the value of the dream as the avenue of approach to the unconscious, or the existence of various mechanisms, distortion, condensation, plastic representation and secondary elaboration, described by Freud as the processes utilized in the creation of the dream.

Freud's discovery that the dream was full of meaning and possessed great significance for the mental life of the dreamer completely revolutionized our methods of psychic therapy. It provided a means by which it has become possible to effect a definite transformation not only in the lives of persons suffering from neuroses, but also in the lives of those desiring some further psychic development or insight into their own unconscious directions and tendencies.

This second use of the dream, however, is not one with which Freud is concerned. His greatest interest appears to lie with the process of the formation of the dream itself—the dream work—and with the relation of the dream to the neuroses. Other workers have come forward with different interpretations or significances for the dream material, notably Silberer, with

his conception of an anagogic content to the dream in addition to the Freudian interpretation; that is, the dream is capable of two interpretations, an "under" and an "over," so to speak. Maeder also, who introduced the idea of the prospective function of the dream, contended for a broader and more individual significance; and Jung has emphasized and developed the prospective interpretation of the dream almost to the exclusion of the Freudian analysis. However, all these efforts to interpret the dream in terms of anything further than repressed evil wishes directed against others, are stoutly resisted by Freud. Nevertheless, he betrays a tendency to allow other possibilities in the interpretation of the dream, although he concedes nothing to any of those workers who have brought into prominence these other possibilities.

He says that Maeder's conception that dreams have a prospective function or aim, and that they deal with attempts at adaptation or present a solution of problems, is based upon his "confusion between dreams and the latent dream thoughts, and ignores the process of dream-work." [1] Silberer's anagogic interpretation he also flatly denies. He does admit, however, that

> . . . something of the kind can often be observed within the series of associations that our patients produce during analytic treatment. . . . The contrast between the two themes that dominate the same series of ideas is not always one between the lofty anagogic and the common psychoanalytic, but is rather that between the shocking and decent or neutral ideas—a fact that easily explains how such a chain of associations with a two-fold determination arises.[2]

In these words Freud combats the findings of others in relation to the dream and allows no place for any element or tendency except the power of evil impulses; for him it is these impulses, repressed from consciousness, that produce the dream

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 200.
[2] Freud: "The Telepathic Significance of Dreams," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. III, Part 3, p. 301.

which serves the purpose of fulfilling the unallowed wish and of preserving sleep. In a characteristic passage, he closes the door on any further discussion of this topic. He says, in regard to the question of the many sidedness of the dream:

> As far as I am concerned, they can be so! But there is just one trifling obstacle in the way of this wider and more convenient conception of dreams—that as a matter of fact they are not so.[1]

Others, however, who have also studied dreams carefully for years by means of the psychoanalytic technic and who have no theory to uphold and no reason to force any meaning upon a dream, can state with equal certainty that dreams do possess a less narrow and more varied significance than that given them by Freud.

From Freud's own words it is not difficult to discover why he so rigidly refuses to entertain other possibilities or to admit that the existence of "evil wishes" does not necessarily exclude the existence of other aims or tendencies in this product of the unconscious. He tells us that he too has had experience with dreams, the interpretation of which presented other significances than the universal one insisted upon; but: "How is it possible for me then to contradict myself and assert that dreams are *always and only* wish fulfilments?" he asks; and replies:

> I do it rather than permit a stupid misunderstanding which might cost us the fruit of all our labors upon the subject of dreams; a misunderstanding that *confounds the dream with the latent dream-thoughts,* and makes statements with regard to the former which are applicable to the *latter and to the latter only.*[2]

The reason for this tenaciously held limitation is clearly stated:

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis,* p. 188.
[2] *Ibid.*

A misunderstanding on this head touches what is essential to our knowledge of dreams and imperils its value for the understanding of neuroses.[1]

This sharp theoretical distinction insisted upon appears to be for the maintenance of a theory only, for he himself, in a further passage, states that for "all practical purposes" dreams do represent these other values. To introduce such a distinction between practice and theory serves no valuable purpose and only makes confusion worse confounded. He continues in this vein:

> When you speak of "a dream," you must mean either the manifest dream, i.e., the product of the dream-work, or at most that work itself, i.e., the mental process which forms the latent dream-thoughts into the manifest dream. . . . If what you say is meant to apply to the latent thoughts behind the dream, then say so plainly, and do not add to the obscurity of the problem by your loose way of expressing yourselves. The latent dream thoughts are the material which is transformed by the dream work into the manifest dream.

And, in an irritated tone, he asks:

> What makes you constantly confound the material with the process which deals with it? [2]

One might answer his question by quoting from his own words again:

> The business of *interpretation* is to put aside those features in the whole which merely represent a wish fulfilment and to reconstruct the painful latent dream-thoughts from these indications.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 187. Italics my own.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

However, in these utterances he strives to hold the dream in the service of a theoretic hypothesis, and refuses to see it as a living product of a nature similar to other creative productions of the psychic processes, the character of which is determined by the individual personality of the dreamer.

When Freud discusses the "meaning of the dream" he means the latent contents of the dream, which he interprets according to his method of always reducing them to their primal root and taking this as the exclusive meaning. When Maeder and others who see another significance in the latent contents, speak of the "meaning of the dream," they use the phrase exactly as the Freudian analysts do.

For the dream itself is the means through which we come into possession of these latent thought processes. How do we know anything about the latent contents except through the form—the dream—which carries them disguised into consciousness?

To insist upon these theoretical distinctions which Freud imposes only upon those who find the meaning of the dream to embody something else besides regressive evil wishes, creates a strange and confused impression. There is no more logic in forcing this discrimination between the dream itself and the latent dream thoughts from which the meaning is gained, upon those who find in dreams wider significances and values, than upon the Freudian psychoanalysts who interpret dreams strictly according to rule and discover in them only "evil wishes."

No, it is not through any confusion of dream and latent content that the differences have arisen, but through the interpretation of the material produced; for the significance of the dream for the life of the dreamer is plainly evident to those who are not committed to the defense of an organized and static theory. It is through the process of dream analysis, which aims to discover the latent dream content, that one finds that the dream is not serving a merely negative function as protector of sleep or as the medium through which evil wishes find expression; but that it conceals within itself something of

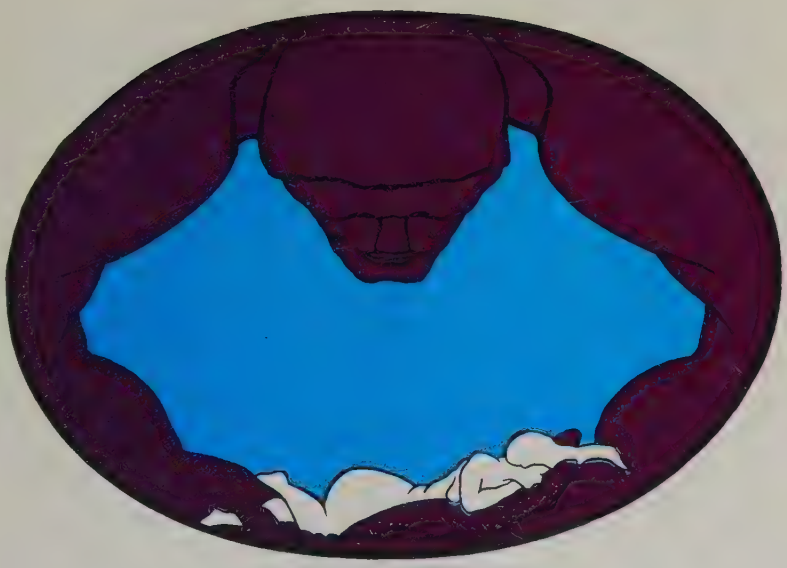


FIG. 2. At rest in the arms of Destiny. The terrible power here becomes kindly or beneficent.

FIG. 3. FIG. 4.

Collective unconscious drawings in which archaic images are reanimated. See text.

importance for the life of the dreamer; either a clear presentation of the present psychic status or an indication of the needed direction. Freud's interpretation of the dream is as if one were to say of another human product, the machine, that its value and significance consisted solely in its mode of manufacture and the materials of which it is made, without consideration of its function and purpose as a whole.

No one who has reached any understanding of dream interpretation can question the importance of the wish-fulfilling mechanism which enters into the psychic production and through which the creative energy is set free; nor the necessity of discovering the latent content, the thoughts and desires out of which the dream is formed; but it is equally important to know what the meaning of this whole activity is for the life of the dreamer. What is the unconscious expressing in this archaic and unrecognizable form? Certainly, it must be something belonging to the deepest aspect of the personality and must involve a quite unconscious tendency or wish not yet arisen into clear consciousness. But the crux of the problem is: What do these wishes signify—regression or progression? The complete answer can only be: Both.

Freud is not unaware of these different aspects of the dream, although he refuses to recognize them as possessing validity, for he states: "It is perfectly true that dreams can represent resolutions, warnings, reflections, preparations or attempts to solve some problem in regard to conduct, and so on." [1] Nevertheless his attitude here is similar to the stand he assumed in regard to Adler's theory of the dominating rôle of the ego in the neurosis which he calls the "masculine protest." Freud also recognized the ego factor, but he brushed it aside as of minor importance, psychoanalysis having "a greater interest in showing that all ego strivings are mixed with libidinous components." [2]

He is quite right, however, when he recognizes that an

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[2] Freud: *History of the Psychoanalytic Movement.*

acceptance of the enlarged conception of the dream would affect his interpretation of the neuroses; for everything that one says of the dream can also be said of the neuroses. Freud himself has emphasized that the mechanism of the dream work is similar to that producing the symptoms of the disease. Besides the production of dreams and neurotic formations, the same processes can also be found operating in certain special spontaneous creations of the unconscious, drawings, poems and modeled figures. The dream is the simplest product of that creative activity which finds its highest expression in those great objective art productions which are the glory of the human race.

We have, therefore, in these widely differing creations of the human mind three distinct and related forms in which the creative activity manifests itself; the dream, a fragile subjective psychic representation; the neurosis, a psychic product exteriorized in the body, in action, or in consciousness; and art forms, objectified psychic productions in which all the mechanisms of dream formation exist, but which have attained the power of an independent existence in reality, separated from their creator.

It is thus entirely consistent that, if a purely reductive significance be attached to the dream and every possible meaning of the product itself be rigidly excluded, this must likewise apply to both neurotic formations and art production. They all have their origins in a common medium and activity, namely, the creative impulse in its psycho-sexual aspect. The wish on which Freud has placed so much emphasis, called by Holt the "first key which psychology has ever had that fitted," [1] supplies in a way still mysterious the motive power *but not the meaning* of the psychic structures.

Bound up with the psychic product we call dream is the understanding of that other form of human creative activity we call symbolism. Although symbolism has become a subject

[1] E. H. Holt: *The Freudian Wish:* Preface.

of paramount importance since the advent of psychoanalysis, because it is on the human capacity for creating symbolic formations that the whole problem of dream interpretation rests, nevertheless it long ago formed a subject of interest and inquiry to investigators and students of the human sciences. Until now, however, it has been chiefly a subject of academic interest, belonging to a past phase of human culture and with no vital meaning for the present. Through psychoanalysis we have come to realize that this ancient process has a present value; and the mode of interpreting and utilizing the symbol, the way in which we understand it in relation to the individual, are intimately connected with his future well-being and development.

Symbols dominate to an unbelievable extent man's conduct and behavior as well as his thinking; they are the bridge over which he travels from the known to the unknown, from the more primitive to the more complex: something is known or experienced which is then associated by analogy with something else of a different nature, and the known characteristics with their affects are projected upon the indifferent or unknown object. It is a process of anthropomorphizing objects by which they are assimilated to the living human organism, endowed with its processes, and an interrelation established. When an existent reality becomes symbolized by something other than itself, and different formations stand in place of it, the psychic elaboration which is the source of all cultural progress has begun.

We know that the two fundamental desires of all life are for food to keep the organism alive and for sexual satisfaction to perpetuate it. Of these two the sexual desire with the organs of its fulfilment provided an unending source of wonder and mystery to primitive man. The power and productiveness proceeding from this source were the all important facts of early life and, therefore, the creative activity, good fortune, fertility, magic power, were everywhere symbolized by the generative organs. The primal mystery of sex, which is no

less a mystery to-day, brought pleasure and fruitfulness and was elevated to the highest position of reverence and honor. The generative organs were the visible signs by which desires became satisfied and fruitful; therefore other desires growing out from these primary ones could be symbolically expressed through them; a good harvest, good luck in divers undertakings, material fruitfulness, masculine strength and so on. Nevertheless this significance is disregarded by the reduction of the symbol to the purely concrete sexual aim and it is this reduction that accounts for the universal offense produced by this mode of interpretation, to which Freud alludes. Past culture periods considered the generative organs in quite another light than the modern culture which has banished them from sight and which attaches value only to the symbols now quite divorced from their origin. With the discovery of the meaningfulness of the dream and of the neurosis it is evident that symbol formation is as active as ever, expressed in the productions of the unconscious.

Freud considers that dream symbolism is strictly limited to a very few sex objects—in other words, this is equivalent to saying that, in the unconscious, no change has taken place nor greater complexity developed since the earliest period of the human race hundreds of thousands of years ago. This conception implies that the symbol has for man to-day no further complexities and connotations than it had for the most primitive savage when he first began to make his analogies and gropingly to transfer his libido from its simplest instinctive activity to more complex forms carried on in association with rhythmic sounds. All the thousands of years of culture, with their separation of the words and images from the original source and the desexualization of original sexual libido bound up with these activities and conceptions are quite ignored in practice; for in no other way would the Freudian analysts be able to interpret the dream symbolism in the concrete manner they do.

It is true that Freud refers to past culture periods and

antique thinking as still living in the unconscious; nevertheless these productions and transformations of libido are ignored when he translates arbitrarily the numerous symbols as possessing a concretely sexual significance and applies this as an actual reality in the life of the dreamer. This arbitrary selection of original meanings as well as the theoretical interpretations, concretely applied to the wealth of dream symbols ignores the dreamer's individual use of the material, and also disregards the real significances underlying the development of the symbol. For instance, the horse shoe is used as a good luck symbol in the present day. We know from countless similar shapes that this form is a common symbol of the vulva. But what is the primitive significance attached to the female generative organ—just that, of a maternal symbol, signifying protection, good fortune, fertility, the bringing forth. It is for these attributes that the symbol was created, not simply as an extension of an object of sexual pleasure or desire. Therefore, merely to translate the symbol in terms of its origin, rather than in terms of its increased significance, misses the whole meaning and value of the production.

Man has built up his culture and achievements largely by means of the symbol, and never by interpreting it in a restricted narrow sense to mean just this concrete object, regressively chosen, can the real meaning and significance of the rich and varied material presented in the dream be understood. The monotonous interpretation of the symbols which Freud recognizes and asks how we can help, shows no regard for the individual tendencies and strivings, and the original primitive process is considered to take place with each child anew, and to be the explanation of the unique process of creative synthesis.

Although the Freudian interpretation of the dream symbolism is largely in terms of sex organs or activities, it is not exclusively so, but other interpretations given by him are equally formalized. For example, Freud interprets dreams of going

away, setting out on a journey, or traveling by train as dying,[1] whereas I have never found this interpretation possible from the associations to this kind of dream, but I have found that such elements of the dream indicate a movement of the libido, an aim, an active living process. In like manner, according to the Freudian interpretation, if I dream of my own death it means not my death, but the death of some one else; because "the idea of one's own death is probably inconceivable as such in the unconscious, being always converted into some other one." [2] But if I dream of the death of a parent or some other loved one, then my dream means I wish that one dead, particularly if in the dream I am emotionally affected by this death. If I dream of the death of a person indifferent to me then my dream refers to some one else whom I wish dead whose death would benefit me in some way, and so on. This is the kind of interpretation which I call arbitrary and formalized.

The interpretation which is based on free associations of the dreamer, using the dream symbols according to the indications of the dream itself, to fill out the gaps in the presentation, enables us to reconstruct the psychic problem or actual situation of the dreamer almost to a certainty. For the dream reveals the most urgent need of the personality and presents in symbolic form those psychic necessities which for modern man are quite as urgent and important as physical ones.

That these necessities are often represented under the form of sex symbols or of physical desires is not extraordinary, since the physical desires are the primary ones and the models from which all others arise. But every individual is striving towards an unknown goal—towards the fulfilling of his potentialities. Nature knows only one way to represent this, through the most instinctive organic processes, represented over and over again in countless forms. Thus, if the dream is understood in an exclusively literal sense as a desire for sexual congress or, as a

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 129.
[2] Jones: *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, p. 145.

wish for the death of this one or that, its entire value and meaning for the dreamer can be lost.

By laying the emphasis on the prospective interpretation of the dream, I do not mean to infer that wishes involving actual objective situations and concrete infantile fixations are not very frequently an important factor in the particular dream. Likewise, because I repudiate the use of rigid and fixed interpretations of symbols, this does not mean that a reductive interpretation of the dream may not be a correct one. Quite the contrary; this means only that the individual should be considered; that his actual physical and mental status determining the situation should be taken into account; and that the interpretation should be made according to the material presented and not according to a system which disregards the development of ages, and thrusts the dreamer back into a period of primitive life.

Every dream is a plastic representation created out of the various sense impressions and objective experiences of the dreamer. These are often brought together from widely separated periods of his life, and are formed into a structure by the latent desires and the needs of the individual.

For in the unconscious there is no past, present, and future separate from each other, but a continuous flow and movement. In the material of the dream we can often find allusions referring directly to a forgotten period, but now used in the service of a present need and to indicate a future direction. The same is true of phantasy, which likewise abolishes time limitations and presents as completed that which takes long periods for accomplishment in reality. For the mechanisms involved in dream formation are all present in phantasy, which differs from the dream chiefly in being generally more coherent, and in occurring during waking life instead of during sleep. Like dreams, phantasy also varies greatly in type, from the simplest form which is merely the direct translation of an organic desire into imagery or an hallucinatory gratification

over its fulfilment—for instance, the phantasy of delicious food in anticipation, or compensation for its lack, or the common hero phantasies—to the creative phantasies of a great artist or scientist.

Freud's theories deal chiefly with the former sort, although even with the complex creative type of phantasy his concern lies only in the discovery of the simple elements providing the motive power. Therefore he always interprets them regressively in the same manner as he does the dream. They exist only because reality has denied satisfaction to the individual.

> Renunciation of pleasure has always been very hard to man; he cannot accomplish it without some kind of compensation. Accordingly he has evolved for himself a mental activity in which all these relinquished sources of pleasure and abandoned paths of gratification are permitted to continue their existence, a form of existence in which they are free from the demands of reality and from what we call the exercise of "testing reality." Every longing is soon transformed into the idea of its fulfilment.[1]

Freud came to the realization that much of the material concerning infantile sexual experiences provided by his patients, upon which the theory of psychoanalysis was built, had no basis in fact. He recognized that they were phantasies to a great extent, although of course there are plenty of actual sexual experiences in childhood. However, he states that for the purpose of psychoanalysis it makes no difference whether the matter related by the patient is fact or phantasy, and he concludes from this that "childhood experiences of this kind are in some way necessarily required by the neurosis, that they belong to its unvarying inventory." [2]

Now it seems to me that in just this failure to make a distinction between fact and phantasy lies another cause of misunderstanding associated with psychoanalysis. It likewise can account for the disregard of the creative aspect of phantasy.

[1] Freud: *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

It is the significance of this human capacity for creating substitutes and transforming the more simple into the complex that is the important problem, for in this capacity lies the entire future of man. To consider phantasy, therefore, only from the standpoint of its simplest forms and to conclude that, because among neurotic people phantasies of childish sexual experiences are produced, they are somehow necessary for the neurosis, is to ignore their more important function. It does not follow necessarily that the association of neuroses and the phantasies of infantile sexual experiences in the same person, signifies a dependence of one upon the other, but it does signify that the psychic activity through which new forms come to birth is still largely occupied on the inferior plane, producing for the individual only infantile phantasy and neuroses.

As a matter of fact phantasy making occurs as frequently among people who are not neurotic, and it can be said to be a fairly constant activity of all imaginative and productive types of individuals. Even though there can be no doubt about its original source in instinct activity, phantasy can be looked upon as the beginning of the transformation of libido from simple instinct activity in which desire and deed are one to the psychic representations which render possible the development of those higher capacities of the human race. As Meredith expressed it man "has half transferred the battle to his brain."

Phantasy is a product of the imagination quite apart from the neuroses and at the same time bears a relationship to this futile achievement. Phantasy carries the promise of the future; neurosis is a failed attempt at its fulfilment. There are persons in whom phantasy making is at a minimum, for they function in almost as simple and direct a manner as the highly specialized insects, for instance. There is no dallying with phantasy in their case, but an instinctive response which transmits wish or impulse into immediate action. This activity may be very well adapted to its ends indeed, although in character it appears related to the reflex type of reaction and is depend-

ent entirely on the environmental conditions. However, these persons can be in no wise regarded as more highly evolved or developed individuals than those in whom phantasy creation and thought processes intervene between impulse and action.

The simplest forms of phantasy are comparable to the simple sexual play of the child before physical maturity has occurred. It is far removed from that creative phantasy which is the forerunner of all new reality and without which man would have remained at the stage where he began. It is only when phantasy takes the place of reality and is substituted for the deed that it becomes pernicious and undesirable. But when one realizes that there are produced by many persons extraordinary phantasies of hallucinatory clarity, often containing clear indications of their unconscious tendencies and needs with the course of action that will develop from them, as well as the germs of new ideas and possibilities, then one learns to regard phantasy as one of the most important creations of man, the intermediate functioning preceding all his great work. As a striking example of this I shall quote the experience of a great chemist who describes his own hallucinatory phantasy leading to the discovery of his chemical theory.

> One beautiful summer evening I was riding on the last omnibus through the deserted streets usually so filled with life. I rode as usual on the outside of the omnibus. I fell into a reverie. Atoms flitted before my eyes. I had always seen them in movement, these little beings, but I had never before succeeded in perceiving their manner of moving. That evening, however, I saw that frequently two smaller atoms were coupled together, that larger ones seized the two smaller ones, that still larger ones held fast three and even four of the smaller ones, and that all whirled around in a bewildering dance. I saw how the larger atoms formed a row and one dragged along still smaller ones at the end of the chain. I saw what Kopp, my revered teacher and friend, describes so charmingly in his *Molecularwelt;* but I saw it long before him. The cry of the guard, "Clapham Road," waked me from my reverie; but I

spent a part of the night writing down sketches of these dream pictures. Thus arose the structural theory.

It was very much the same with the Benzene Theory. During my stay in Ghent, Belgium, I occupied pleasant bachelor quarters in the main street. My study, however, was in a narrow alleyway and had, during the day time, no light. For a chemist who spends the hours of daylight in the laboratory this was no disadvantage. I was sitting there engaged in writing my text book; but it wasn't going very well; my mind was on other things. I turned my chair toward the fire place and sank into a doze. Again the atoms were flitting before my eyes. Smaller groups now kept modestly in the background. My mind's eye sharpened by repeated visions of a similar sort, now distinguished larger structures of varying forms. Long rows frequently close together, all in movement, winding and turning like serpents! And see! What was that? *One of the serpents seized its own tail* and the form whirled mockingly before my eyes. I came awake like a flash of lightning. This time also I spent the night working out the consequences of the hypothesis. If we learn to dream, gentlemen, then we shall perhaps find truth. . . . We must take care, however, not to publish our dreams before submitting them to proof by the waking mind. "Countless germs of mental life fill the realm of space but only in a few rare minds do they find soil for their development; in them the idea, of which no one knows whence it came, lives as an active process." [1]

This is the highest type of creative phantasy but phantasy of a similar character is constantly being produced by numberless people which possesses for their individual lives as great a value and significance as this phantasy did for chemistry.

It is interesting to observe the distinction in the type and character of the dreams and phantasies produced by the different types of individuals. One can frequently diagnose the type of personality by the character of the dream. The sub-

[1] Kekule: *Berichte der deutschen chemischen Gesellschat,* 1890, pp. 1305-1307. Quoted by Walter Libby in *The Scientific Monthly,* Vol. XV, No. 3, p. 268. Italics my own.

jective types generally produce dreams of great vividness and complexity, frequently filled with bizarre and fantastic situations and imagery; the objective types, on the contrary, keep close to the simple concrete facts of everyday life and common experience; the psychic elaboration is limited and all the processes of the dream work are of the simplest order. With one group, there is a great creative activity, a movement and psychic work of a rich and varied character; with another, only the surface sense impressions appear to be reflected, the unconscious elaboration and reorganization with the individual creative element being of the poorest, so that dreams of this character afford the least possibilities for any individual interpretation.

It is a matter of interest to observe during the analysis how cases of this sort change their character. Sometimes in the beginning the only way of approach is through analysing patiently the conscious material presented, the individual reactions and attitudes towards the environment and life's experiences. In such cases dreams are of a character almost unanalyzable if one depends upon the association of ideas for the material. Gradually, a change takes place; with the libido consciously directed towards the self, a greater depth of activity is observed; there is a new and deeper quality in the material produced, and it is evident that new functions have been stimulated, that new strings are vibrating. This change is generally registered in the dream, which can quite alter its character, so that real creative processes are now operative and new imagery and forms appear which easily lead into the depths of the personality.

The same process can be observed among students in a drawing class, for example. There are those whose entire work consists in producing a copy of the objective image, in making a faithful reproduction of the actual scene. We all know the effect of these representations; they carry with them nothing save the fixation of the object in its concrete form. In contrast to this reproductive process, there is another in which the ob-

jects, the actual scene, are taken into the personality of the artist—they serve to stimulate him and set in action his own psychic processes. They are acted upon, broken up, elaborated and associated with his own individual quality and there is brought forth a new representation of quite another character. The drawing is formed by pencil and paper; the forms are those of common things, trees, mountains, human or animal figures similar to those of the model; but a new element has entered into these materials and a new product has come forth.

To judge the dream product by its inner aspect alone—those common psychic factors belonging to all individuals—is to arrive at an interpretation no more accurate or complete than to judge it by the outer manifest content—the actual perceptions and experiences of the individual. Both these elements enter into the creation of the dream. But the product is new; it contains something else, something which we call its essence or spirit, and which defies classification in terms of its origin or of the elements composing it. We can arrive at the real meaning of this production only by viewing it as a unity, an expression of the living processes of the individual. He presents in this form something which has not yet been consciously perceived by himself, but which is in process of creation—a need, a wish, an aim, if you please—towards which all his thoughts and activities are for the time unconsciously being directed.

The dream permits us to see something of the process of transformation and development by the psychic apparatus of the crude wishes and impulses which were once actual and concrete. The fact that these tendencies can appear in the dream, even though unrecognized by the dreamer, reveals that the same fundamental processes exist to-day as in the past when direct blind impulse alone operated. The form of the desires has changed completely; they have become complex. The real nature of the present need must be sought within the individual himself, and for this purpose his psychic productions offer the material. From this standpoint, the various dream

pictures and situations are recognized as aspects, plastic representations, of his own many-sided personality, a symbolic presentation of his own psychic state.

Although Freud disavows any interest in this form of dream interpretation, and consistently interprets every dream as an evil wish directed towards others, as sexual intentions or infantile perversions and the like, nevertheless he refers with approval to a famous dream of antiquity and its prospective interpretation. The dream is that of Alexander the Great who, during a stubborn resistance of the foe at the siege of Tyre, dreamed that he saw a dancing satyr. This was interpreted by Aristandros who, by dividing the word Satyros into *σὰ Τύρος* —(Tyre is Thine)—and using this in a prospective way, explained the dream as a prophecy of victory for the king over the city. The prospective function of this dream with its inner assurance of victory illustrates the view which I am presenting. Only, in describing its genesis, I should say that it revealed to Alexander an essential harmony within his purpose. He was not divided; that is, both conscious and unconscious aims were in accord. Thus he was stimulated to renewed effort and the final conquest. In presenting this dream interpretation, although so different from his own, Freud says, "Factitious as it seems it was undoubtedly the right one." [1]

While writing this chapter there has come to hand a paper by Freud on another subject, which contains, however, the interpretation of a dream with an estimate of the dreamer's personality—a person otherwise unknown to him. His comments upon the dreamer's experience and material as well as the dream interpretation express in the clearest manner the typical Freudian psychoanalytic method, and at the same time permit me to illustrate the method which I am presenting and the distinctions I wish to make. I shall quote a portion of the article in order to allow the personality of the dreamer to appear; for without this no adequate dream interpretation can be made.

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 200.

1.[1] ". . . My doctor, Herr Dr. N——, advises me to give you an account of a dream that has haunted me for about thirty or thirty-two years. I am following his advice, and perhaps the dream may possess interest for you in some scientific respect. Since, in your opinion, such dreams are to be traced to an experience of a sexual nature in the first years of childhood, I reproduce some reminiscences of childhood, that is, experiences which even now make an impression on me and were of so marked a character as to have determined my religion for me.

"May I beg of you to send me word in what way you explain this dream and whether it is not possible to banish it from my life, for it haunts me like a ghost, and the circumstances that always accompany it—I always fall out of bed, and have inflicted on myself not inconsiderable injuries—make it particularly disagreeable and distressing."

2. "I am thirty-seven years old, very strong and in good physical health, but in childhood I had, besides measles and scarlet fever, an attack of inflammation of the kidneys. In my fifth year I had a very severe inflammation of the eyes, which left double vision. One image slants towards the other and the edges of the image are blurred, as the scars from the ulcers affect the clearness. In the specialist's opinion there is nothing more to be done to the eyes and no chance of improvement. The left side of my face is somewhat awry, from having screwed up my left eye to see better. By dint of practice and determination I can do the finest needlework, and similarly, when a six-year-old child, I broke myself of squinting sideways by practising in front of a looking-glass, so that now there is no external sign of the defect in vision.

"In my earliest years I was always lonely, kept apart from other children, and had visions (clairvoyance and clairaudience); I was not able to distinguish these from reality, and was often in consequence in embarrassing positions, with the result that I am a very reserved and shy person. Since as a quite small child I already knew far more than I could have learnt, I simply did not understand children of my own age. I am myself the eldest of a family of twelve.

"From six to ten years old I attended the elementary school and

[1] *International Journal of Psychoanalysis,* Vol. III, Part 3, pp. 294-304.

up to sixteen the high-school of the Ursuline Nuns in B——. At ten years old I had taken in as much French in four weeks in eight lessons, as other children learn in two years. I had only to repeat it and it was just as if I had already learnt it and only forgotten it. I have never had any need to learn French, in contradistinction to English, which certainly gave me no trouble but was not known to me beforehand. The same thing happened to me with Latin as with French and I have never properly learnt it, only knowing it from ecclesiastical Latin, which is however quite familiar to me. If I read a French book to-day, then I immediately begin thinking in French, whereas this never happens to me with English, although I have more command of English.—My parents are peasant people who for generations have never spoken any languages except German and Polish.

"*Visions:* Sometimes reality vanishes for some moments and I see something quite different. In my house, for example, I often see an old couple and a child; the house is then differently furnished. In hospital a friend once came into my room at about four in the morning; I was awake, had the lamp burning, and was sitting at my table reading, as I suffer much from sleeplessness. This apparition of her always means a trying time for me—as also on this occasion.

"In 1914 my brother was on active service; I was not with my parents in B——, but in C——. It was ten in the morning on August the 22nd when I heard my brother's voice calling, 'Mother, Mother.' It came again ten minutes later, but I saw nothing. On August the 24th I came home, found my mother greatly oppressed, and in answer to my questions she said that the boy had appeared on August the 22nd. She had been in the garden in the morning, when she had heard him call, 'Mother, Mother.' I tried to comfort her and said nothing about myself. Three weeks after there came a card from my brother, written on August the 22nd between nine and ten in the morning; shortly after that he died.

"On September the 27th, 1921, while in the hospital, I received a message of some kind. There were violent knockings two or three times repeated on the bed of the patient who shared my room. We were both awake; I asked if she had knocked; she had not heard anything at all. Eight weeks later I heard that one of my friends had died in the night of the 26th to 27th.

"Now something which may be an hallucination, a matter of opinion! I have a friend who married a widower with five children; I got to know the husband only through my friend. Nearly every time that I have been to see her, I have seen a lady going in and out of the house. It was natural to suppose that this was the husband's first wife. I asked at some convenient opportunity for a portrait of her, but could not identify the apparition with the photograph. Seven years later I saw a picture with the features of the lady belonging to one of the children. It was after all the first wife. In the first picture she looked in much better health: she had just been through a feeding-up treatment and that alters the appearance of a consumptive patient.—These are only a few examples out of many.

"*The dream:* I see a tongue of land surrounded by water. The waves are driven to and fro by the surf. On this piece of land stands a palm-tree, bent somewhat towards the water. A woman has her arm wound round the stem of the palm and is bending low towards the water, where a man is trying to reach the shore. At last she lies down on the ground, holds tightly to the palm-tree with her left hand and stretches out her right hand as far as she can towards the man in the water, but without reaching him. At that point I fall out of bed and wake. I was about fifteen or sixteen years old when I realized that this woman was myself, and from that time I not only went through all the woman's apprehensions for the man but I stood there many a time as a third who was not taking part and only looked on. I dreamed this dream too in separate scenes. As the interest in men awoke in me (eighteen to twenty years old), I tried to see the man's face; it was never possible. The foam hid everything but the neck and the back of the head. I have twice been engaged to be married, but the head and build were not those of either of the two men.—Once, when I was lying in hospital under the influence of paraldehyde, I saw the man's face, which I now always see in this dream. It was that of the doctor under whose care I was. I liked him as a doctor but there was nothing more between us.

"*Memories:* Six to nine months old. I was in a perambulator. Quite close to me were two horses; one, a chestnut, is looking at me very hard and in a way full of meaning. This is the most vivid experience; I had the feeling that it was a human being.

"*One year old.* Father and I in the town-park, where a park-keeper is putting a little bird into my hand. Its eyes look into mine. I feel 'That is a live creature like yourself.'

"*Animals being slaughtered.* When I heard the pigs screaming I always called for help and cried out 'You are killing a person' (four years old). I have always avoided eating meat. Pork always makes me sick. I came to eat meat during the war, but only against my will; now I have given it up again.

"*Five years old.* My mother was confined and I heard her cry out. I had the feeling, 'There is a human being or an animal in the greatest distress,' just as I had over the pig-killing.

"I was quite indifferent as a child to sexual matters; at ten years old I had as yet no conception of offences against chastity. Menstruation came on at the age of twelve. The woman first awaked in me at six and twenty, after I had given birth to a child; up to that time (six months) I constantly had violent vomiting after intercourse. This also came on whenever I was at all oppressed in mood.

"I have extraordinarily keen powers of observation, and quite exceptionally sharp hearing, also a very keen sense of smell. I can pick out by smell people I know from among a crowd with my eyes bandaged.

"I do not regard my abnormal powers of sight and hearing as pathological, but ascribe them to finer perceptions and greater quickness of thought; but I have only spoken of it to my pastor and doctor—very unwillingly to the latter, as I was afraid he would tell me that what I regarded as *plus*-qualities were *minus*-qualities, and also because from being misunderstood in childhood I am very reserved and shy."

The dream which the writer of the letter asks us to interpret is not hard to understand. It is a dream of saving from water, a typical birth-dream. The language of symbolism, as you are aware, knows no grammar; it is an extreme case of a language of infinitives, and even the active and passive are represented by one and the same image. If in a dream a woman pulls (or wishes to pull) a man out of the water, that may mean she wishes to be his mother (takes him for her son as Pharaoh's daughter did with Moses), or equally she wishes him to make her into a mother, to have a son by him, a son who shall be as like him as a copy. The tree trunk

to which the woman clings is easily recognized as a phallic symbol, even though it is not standing straight up, but inclined towards the surface of the water—in the dream the word is "bent."

The on-rush and recoil of the surf brought to the mind of another dreamer who was relating a similar dream the comparison with the intermittent pains of labor, and when, knowing that she had not yet borne a child, I asked her how she knew of this characteristic of labor, she said that one imagined labor as a kind of colic, a quite unimpeachable description physiologically. She gave the association "Waves of the Sea and Waves of Passion."[1] How our dreamer at so early an age can have arrived at the finer details of the symbolism: tongue of land, palm-tree, I am naturally unable to say. We must not however overlook the fact that, when people maintain that they have for years been haunted by the same dream, it often turns out that the manifest content is not throughout quite the same. Only the kernel of the dream has recurred each time; the details of the content are changed or additions are made to them.

At the end of this dream, which is evidently charged with anxiety, the dreamer falls out of bed. This is a fresh representation of child-birth; analytic investigation of the fear of heights, of the dread of an impulse to throw oneself out of the window, has doubtless led you all to the same conclusion.

Who then is the man, by whom the dreamer wishes to have a child, or of whose very image she would like to be the mother? She has often tried to see his face, but the dream never allows of it; the man has to remain a mystery. We know from countless analyses what this veiling means, and the conclusion we should base on analogy is verified by another statement of the dreamer's. Under the influence of paraldehyde she once recognized the face of the man in the dream as that of the hospital physician who was treating her, and who meant nothing more to her conscious emotional life. The original thus never divulged its identity, but this impression of it in "transference" establishes the conclusion that earlier it must have always been the father. Ferenczi is undoubtedly perfectly right in pointing out that these "dreams of the unsuspecting" are valuable sources of information confirming the conjectures of analysis. Our dreamer was the eldest of twelve children; how often must

[1] "Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen," the title of a play by Grillparzer. Ed.

she have gone through the pangs of jealousy and disappointment when not she, but her mother, obtained from her father the longed-for child!

Our dreamer has quite correctly supposed that her first memories of childhood would be of value in the interpretation of her early and recurrent dream. In the first scene, in the first year of her life, as she sits in her perambulator she sees two horses close to her, one looking hard at her in a significant way. This she describes as her most vivid experience; she had the feeling that it was a human being. This is a judgment with which we can do nothing but agree, assuming as we do that the two horses represent, in this case as so often, man and wife, father and mother. It is, as it were, a flash of infantile totemism. If we could, we should ask the writer whether the *brown* horse who looks at her in so human a way could not be recognized by its coloring as her father. The second recollection is associatively connected with the first through the same "understanding" gaze. "Taking the little bird in her hand" reminds the analyst, who by the way has prejudices of his own at times, of a feature in the dream in which the woman's hand is again in contact with another phallic symbol.

The next two memories belong together; they make still slighter demands on the interpreter. The mother crying out during her confinement reminded the daughter directly of the pigs screaming when they are killed and put her into the same frenzy of pity. We may also conjecture, however, that this is a violent reaction against a death-wish directed at the mother.

With these indications of tenderness for the father, of contact with his genitals, and of the death-wish against the mother, the outline of the female Œdipus complex is sketched. The ignorance of sexual matters retained so long and the frigidity at a later period bear out these suppositions. The writer of the letter has been virtually—and for a time no doubt actually—an hysterical neurotic. The life-force has, for her own happiness, carried her along with it, has awakened in her the sexual feelings of a woman and brought her the joys of motherhood, and the capacity to work, but a portion of her libido still clings to its point of fixation in childhood; she still dreams that dream that flings her out of bed and punishes her for her incestuous object-choice by "not inconsiderable injuries."

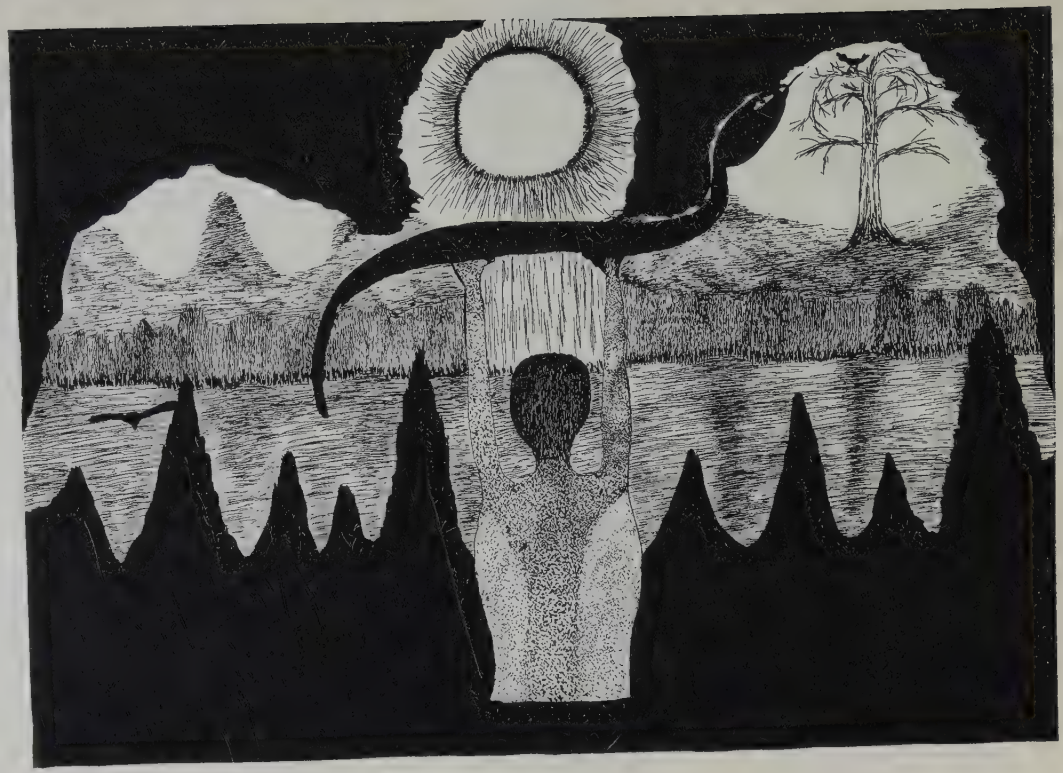


FIG. 5. Archaic sun worship in an unconscious drawing by a modern man.

FIG. 6. Archaic sun-worship. Reproduced from an unconscious drawing by a woman.

And now a strange doctor's explanation, given in a letter, is to effect something that all the most important experiences of later life have failed to do. Probably a regular analysis continued for a considerable time might have some success. As things were, I was obliged to content myself with writing to her that I was convinced she was suffering from the after-effects of a strong emotional tie binding her to her father and from a corresponding identification with her mother, but that I did not myself expect that this explanation would help her at all. Spontaneous cures of neurosis usually leave scars behind, and these smart from time to time. We are very proud of our art if we achieve a cure through psycho-analysis, yet even so we cannot always prevent the formation of a painful scar in the process.

The little series of reminiscences must engage our attention for a while longer. I have on one occasion stated that such scenes of childhood are "screen-memories" selected at a later period, put together, and thereby not infrequently falsified. This subsequent elaboration serves a purpose that is easy to guess. In our case one can practically hear the ego of the writer glorifying or soothing itself throughout the whole series of recollections. "I was from a tiny thing a particularly large-hearted and compassionate child. I learnt quite early that the animals have souls as we have, and could not endure cruelty to animals. The sins of the flesh were far from me and I preserved my chastity till late." With declarations such as these she loudly contradicts the inferences that we have to make about her early childhood on the basis of our analytical experience, namely, that she had an abundance of premature sexual emotions and violent feelings of hatred for her mother and her younger brothers and sisters. (Beside the genital significance assigned to it, the little bird may also have that of a child-symbol, like all small animals; her memory also accentuates in a very insistent way that this tiny creature had the same right to exist as she herself.) The short series of recollections in fact furnishes a very nice example of a mental structure with a two-fold aspect. Viewed superficially, we may find in it the expression of an abstract idea, here, as usually, with an ethical reference. In H. Silberer's nomenclature the structure has an *anagogic* content; on deeper investigation it reveals itself as a chain of phenomena belonging to the region of the repressed life of the instincts—it displays its *psycho-analytic* content.

As you know, Silberer, who was among the first to issue a warning to us on no account to lose sight of the nobler side of the human soul, has put forward the view that all or nearly all dreams permit such a two-fold interpretation, a purer, anagogic one, beside the ordinary, psycho-analytic one. This is, however, unfortunately not so; on the contrary, an over-interpretation of this kind is rarely possible; there has been no valuable example of such a dream-analysis with a double meaning published up to the present time within my knowledge. But something of the kind can often be observed within the series of associations that our patients produce during analytic treatment. The successive ideas are linked on the one hand by an obvious and coherent association, while on the other hand you become aware of an underlying theme which is kept secret and at the same time plays a part in all these ideas. The contrast between the two themes that dominate the same series of ideas is not always one between the lofty anagogic and the common psycho-analytic, but is rather that between shocking and decent or neutral ideas—a fact that easily explains how such a chain of associations with a two-fold determination arises. In our present example it is of course not accidental that the anagogic and the psycho-analytic interpretations stand in such a sharp contrast to each other; both relate to the same material, and the later tendency is the same as that seen in the reaction-formations erected against the instinctive forces.

Now why did we make such a special search for the psycho-analytic interpretation instead of contenting ourselves with the more accessible anagogic one? The answer to this is linked up with many other problems: with the existence of neurosis itself and the explanations it inevitably demands, the fact that virtue does not reward a man with the joy and strength in life that is expected from it, as though it brought with it too much from its original source (this dreamer too had not been well rewarded for her virtue), and there are various other reasons that I need not discuss before this audience. . . . With a person who so easily and so early in life succumbed before reality and replaced it by the world of phantasy, the temptation is irresistible to connect her telepathic experiences and "visions" with her neurosis and to derive them from it, although here too we should not allow ourselves to be deceived as to the cogency of our own arguments. We shall merely replace what is

unknown and unintelligible by possibilities that are at least comprehensible.

On August the 22nd, 1914, at ten o'clock in the morning, our correspondent experienced a telepathic impression that her brother who was at the time on active service was calling: "Mother, Mother!" the phenomenon was purely acoustic, it was repeated shortly after, but nothing was seen. Two days later she sees her mother and finds her much depressed because the young man had announced himself to her by repeatedly calling, "Mother, Mother!" She immediately recalls the same telepathic message, which she had experienced at the same time, and as a matter of fact some weeks later it was established that the young soldier had died on that day at the hour stated.

It cannot be proved, but also cannot be disproved, that instead of this what happened was the following: the mother told her one day that the son had sent this telepathic message; whereupon the conviction at once arose in her mind that she had had the same experience at the same time. Such delusory memories arise in the mind with the force of an obsession, a force derived from real sources—they have, however, substituted material for psychical reality. The strength of the delusory memory lies in its being an excellent way of expressing the sister's tendency to identify herself with the mother. "You are anxious about the boy, but I am really his mother, and his cry was meant for me; I had this telepathic message." The sister would naturally firmly decline to consider our attempt at explanation and would hold to her belief in the authenticity of the experience. She simply cannot do otherwise; as long as the reality of the unconscious basis of it in her own mind is concealed from her she is obliged to believe in the reality of her pathological logic. Every such delusion derives its strength and its unassailable character from its source in unconscious psychical reality. I note in passing that it is not incumbent on us here to explain the mother's experience or to investigate its authenticity.

The dead brother is, however, not only the imaginary child of our correspondent; he represents also a rival regarded with hatred even at the time of his birth. By far the greater number of all telepathic presentiments relate to death or the possibility of death: when patients under analysis keep telling us of the frequency and infallibility of their gloomy forebodings, we can with equal regularity

show them that they are fostering particularly strong death-wishes in their unconscious against their nearest relations and have therefore long suppressed them. . . . Another of our dreamer's "visions" will probably become more intelligible in the light of analytical knowledge! Women friends have obviously a considerable significance in her emotional life. News of the death of one of them is conveyed to her shortly after the event by knocking at night on the bed of a room-mate in the hospital. Another friend had many years before married a widower with several (five) children. On the occasion of her visits to their house she regularly saw the apparition of a lady, whom she felt constrained to suppose to be the dead first wife; this did not at first permit of confirmation, and only became a matter of certainty with her seven years later on the discovery of a fresh photograph of the dead woman. This achievement in the way of a vision has the same inner dependence on the family-complex already recognized in our correspondent as her presentiment of the brother's death. By identifying herself with her friend she could in her person achieve her own wish-fulfilment; for all eldest daughters of a numerous family build up in their unconscious the phantasy of becoming the father's second wife by the death of the mother. If the mother is ill or dies, the eldest daughter takes her place as a matter of course in relation to the younger brothers and sisters, and may even in respect to the father take over some part of the functions of the wife. The unconscious wish fills in the other part.

This disposal of the psychic products of this woman shows us in unmistakable terms the unjustified assumptions reached in regard to a given material when no attention is paid to the individual factor in the problem, and all elements are forced into an *a priori* theory. Moreover, the woman's fear of having capacities considered by her as "plus qualities," reduced to "minus ones," if she told of them, is certainly proven to be not without justification. We are here given a dream said to have occurred repeatedly since childhood. It is a very unusual dream for a child, but the dreamer herself is a most unusual personality, who can only be understood through particular study and effort.

We are told in the first place that she remembers incidents occurring between six and nine months of age. This in itself is a rare occurrence; furthermore, the general character of all the infantile memories is of one order—it shows a most extraordinary psychic relation with nature. She is in a state of *participation mystique* as Levy-Bruhl would call it, with the animal world—in other words, in a state of identity with nature. She cannot separate herself from other living creatures, but recognizes them as part of her own being and responds to them as others do to their human fellows. In this condition of sensitive relationship, she feels within herself every vibration from them, and projects into them her human feelings which she believes them to possess.

Besides this evidence of her unusual sensitive psychic organism, she possesses extraordinarily keen powers of observation, and finer sense perceptions than ordinary persons. These finer sense perceptions can be occasionally observed among persons who have preserved to a certain degree capacities found in a more developed state among animals and primitive peoples. It is recognized that we have lost much in the gain of our more complex intellectual capacities. This girl possesses these keener senses, and she tells us besides, that as a child, she already knew far more than she could have learned. This is probably true because this capacity corresponds with the rest of her personality and is what one would expect of a child of such unusual subjectivity. Her psychic powers are all alert, and therefore she can create or hallucinate both visual and auditory perceptions which are so vivid that they are difficult to distinguish from reality.

With such extraordinarily sensitive perceptions and subjective functions her reserved and shy personality is comprehensible; for her surroundings were evidently such that there would be little understanding of her super-normal powers—and self protection is still the first law of all nature. Indeed, when the only comment on this unusual personality that can be made by a famous medical psychologist is that she is a hysterical

neurotic, and when her statements about herself are dismissed as a self-glorification or a soothing of the ego, with no regard to the objective validity of her claims, then we must say her reserve and shyness are well-justified protective measures.

There is no question, from the rest of the statements of this woman, that she knew as a child of sexual matters as well as of other things without being taught. Her keen powers of observation could not have failed her here any more than elsewhere, but does this knowledge necessarily imply that she was more sexual than other children; or that her "Œdipus complex" sketched by Freud is of such a character that she must be punished by a dream which throws her out of bed?

In the analysis of this dream, if associations could be obtained, unquestionably there would be brought out material of a character which would allow the strictly experiential elements to become prominent, and would show a basis for the assumption that its frequent repetition reveals the great importance it possesses for her personality. It is a message from the unconscious, produced by the great need in her for the rescue of her psychic functions from their primary identification with nature and their firm integration with the ego. This she has been unable to achieve, but the tension in the unconscious is so great that, through the dream, the problem is presented over and over again. She can get no further, however, than this symbolic representation of a man in danger, an attempted rescue, and failure—at which point she falls out of bed and the tension is released.

In offering this interpretation of the dream the lack of personal contact with the dreamer deprives us of the possibility of connecting it with the objective and concrete situation of her actual life as it has been lived. Also, as Freud remarks, we cannot be sure that just this form of the dream was the actual one appearing in childhood; but the story of her psychic functioning as a child shows that from the beginning the need existed for that firmness and differentiation of the ego function which enables the individual to cope adequately with the ex-

ternal world and which is symbolized by the masculine figure. Therefore although the details may have differed or been changed from time to time undoubtedly the essential core of the dream remains the same.

The expression "tongue of land," surrounded by water, can be interpreted as a symbol of her own reality in relation to the shifting forces of the unconscious. Land in contrast to water is terra firma; it appears stable and solid; whereas the water is in constant movement; it is uncertain and affords no resting place—no quiet. In the dream, this condition of the water is accentuated—"The waves are driven to and fro by the surf." There is commotion, stress, and uncertainty portrayed. Now the water itself is a most perfect symbol of the collective unconscious, the state of undifferentiation, with the movement and surge of impulse in its varied forms equivalent to the movement of the waves; "Waves of the Sea and Waves of Passion," as Freud expressed it. The dreamer here describes her psychological status as similar to a tongue of land surrounded by water. Now why tongue? Freud only makes an allusion to the significance of this symbol but, taken with the rest of his interpretation, it is clear that he intends a sexual significance here. But there is certainly another meaning equally valid and most significant for the dreamer. Tongue has a very important use for humans as the chief organ of speech. Languages are called tongues and the possession of language is the particularly human characteristic which has set man apart from the rest of the animal world and made all else possible to him. Further, this woman tells us that she has a particular facility with languages. Certain ones she appeared to possess already in the unconscious, so that she did not experience the difficulty common to most people in acquiring a new language. Therefore, we feel justified from the data given, in interpreting this piece of the dream as a reference to her unique and personal portion of peculiarly human capacity which distinguishes her from the animals with which she is identified—her firm foundation on the primitive basis of lan-

guage in the midst of the surging waters of the collective unconscious. In addition, there stands a palm tree on the tongue of land, bent somewhat toward the water. The mention of this particular tree is certainly not without significance. The tree in general possesses a dual symbolism. It is quite as often a maternal symbol as a phallic one and, if symbolism has any value at all, it cannot be disposed of by a simple concrete interpretation arbitrarily imposed and with no relation to the rest of the dream. The palm tree in particular has always possessed a special significance. It is the mystic tree, the maternal symbol above all else, the tree of the sacred groves. It signified fruitfulness and all the ideal maternal qualities. Honor and reverence were given it.

The palm tree then, represents the special function of woman, her creativeness and, biologically speaking, her *raison d'être*. The tree is "bent somewhat toward the water" representing the collective character of the function, and to it the figure of the woman in the dream is clinging. From this support—woman's special aspect of reality, in contrast to man's—the dream figure is bending low towards the water where a man is trying to reach shore. He has no earth under his feet, but is entirely in the unconscious, only able to make himself known in the disturbing dream. From the associations and the picture of herself drawn by this woman, it appears quite obvious that her greatest need is to attain some development of the masculine principle. She has achieved none of the firm psychic integration and stability which is associated with masculine power and strength; she is distinctly and only woman, yet with certain needs within herself that call for the development of qualities which would enable her to fulfil herself more adequately in the actual world of to-day. She tells us that, because of her peculiar psychic condition (identity with the collective unconscious), even as a little child she was lonely,—"kept apart from other children," and that she is very reserved and shy.

Now this woman possesses a very complex psychic or-

ganism. She has been aware of much that in ordinary persons would have formed the content of the collective unconscious and of which, without special effort, they would have been quite unaware. The consciousness of this woman is more inclusive, both wider and deeper, than that of most persons and, as a consequence, she finds living in the external reality of the limited persons of her environment a great difficulty. She needs an individual attitude towards the world; had she achieved this, then she could have fought her way and maintained herself. Of this she knew nothing concretely; but in the unconscious, through the dream, she expresses her need in the image of an attempted rescue (or birth) of the man (the masculine or individual attributes) from the water. So eager is she that in the dream the woman lies down on the ground; thus she contacts mother earth to gain strength and force from the "source of life"; she "holds tightly to the palm tree with her *left hand* and stretches out her *right hand* as far as she can towards the man in the water but without reaching him." The significance of the two hands is here emphasized. The left hand is the feminine hand; the association of left with the feminine aspect and right with the masculine appears again and again in our patients. Freud has also mentioned this. In the dream the left hand is the one holding on to the feminine reality, the mystic tree; the right reaches towards the masculine figure and—fails to reach it. At this point, she falls out of bed and awakens.

From the history of this woman, there seems little doubt that the intensity of her need is transferred to the motor system and enervates the muscles so that the failure of the effort carries her physically to the finale—contact with actual substance, which awakens her. Her firm hold around the palm tree—the symbolic expression of her feminine functioning—probably prevents her in the dream from losing her balance and falling into the water and thus awaking; instead of actually falling out of bed. It is obvious that this could as well be the end, but then we would have a greater loss of reality, a more

unstable and disintegrated personality than this woman presents. From the glimpse we get of her she has functioned in a purely feminine way quite completely and is adapted from that standpoint. She has borne a child and she has used her efforts in feminine directions.

I venture to predict that if she could understand fully the real significance to her of this dream as here outlined, it would disappear forever in this form, and a Mosaic interpretation of her fall out of bed as a punishment because of incest wishes towards the father would be unnecessary.

The question which troubles her regarding the identity of the man in the water, whom later she represents by the form of the doctor, is really unimportant as far as the actual significance of the dream for her is concerned. It is, as Freud points out, probably the father; for the figure being hidden by the foam signifies that the functions desired are entirely in the unconscious—she is in a completely infantile relation to the father; no inner freedom in an adult way has been won for that aspect of her personality. Therefore, the father symbolizes for her the masculine qualities needful for her adaptation. It may be questioned that such a need could be presented in the dream of a little child, but this is an exceptional child, one who has known things before she learned them objectively. As Freud suggests, she was undoubtedly aware of sexual matters early, but this in no way necessitates a rejection of her statements about herself. It could not produce such a subjective and primitive type of personality; and it can scarcely be held to be the cause of her unusual psychic status. The "Œdipus complex" is too normal and too common a condition to account for the psychic differences among individuals, and it gives no satisfactory explanation of the distinctive psychic functioning of this woman, nor can the facts be disposed of by a reference to a strong love bond to her father, and hatred to the rest of the family. This hatred is theoretically assumed to be particularly directed against the mother and to be revealed in the affectivity that the woman tells us characterized her childhood.

The screaming of the pigs when they were being killed affected her so keenly when she was four years of age that she cried out "You are killing a person," thus clearly identifying the animal with the human, and feeling in herself the same anguish. When at five years of age she heard her mother crying out in her confinement and, associating it with the screaming of the pigs heard previously, felt the same identification and anguish, "only slight demands are made upon the interpreter" to assume that this five year old child entertained against the mother death wishes of so strong a character that this feeling of pity or sympathy is explained as merely a violent reaction away from them.

Freud expresses himself somewhere, in criticism of other dream interpretations, to the effect that he suspects "the dream is confounded with the whole personality." This comment, it seems to me, provides the explanation for the kind of interpretations just quoted. The dream is evidently not considered as a product of the personality of the dreamer as a whole, but in some way he is divided up and a portion of him produces the dream. Therefore, the original root of the symbol is made the important factor instead of its meaning and use for the life of the individual. This disregard of the unity of the individual as the experiencing subject can account for the failure to recognize the distinction in value between symbols which appear similar, but which possess totally different meanings for different persons, and at different times for the same person.

This is well illustrated by the narcissistic symbol of the serpent with the tail in its mouth. Narcissism, which is the name chosen by psychoanalysis to describe the libido attachment to the ego or the self, is the original condition of the child; and the inclusion of the mother, as the first object of dawning consciousness, in this narcissistic love, is at this time no more than an extension of the child himself. Later, when he commences to feel himself as a separate and distinct entity, this narcissism persists, but the libido now invests other objects with value. Nevertheless, it can be said that the narcissistic love is the

necessary condition to any development of the ego function and of individuality. It can remain, it is true, in an entirely infantile stage in relation to the ego, exactly as the love given to objects can be of the same character, or it can become highly developed so that the achievement of a more evolved self becomes a possibility. This is why the narcissistic symbol of the closed ring, or the serpent with the tail in its mouth, is at one and the same time a symbol of the self-enclosed infantile state and of the highest human development—the symbol of an individuated being. This symbol possesses great antiquity and at the same time is one of the most universal; recurring with a frequency in the products of the unconscious of modern individuals which reveals its vitality and significance for human life. It occurs noticeably in the phantasy of the chemist quoted on pages 144 and 145, and in the unconscious drawing, Figure 7, it is portrayed in another relation.

FIG. 7. Unconscious drawing portraying the narcissistic symbol of the serpent with the tail in its mouth or the closed ring.

PART TWO

V

A STUDY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES[1]

QUITE early in my practice of psychoanalysis I began to observe certain marked lines of difference in the psychology of my patients, and it was not long before they appeared to fall into distinct classes with well-defined outlines. Just at this time I received Jung's short paper called *A Preliminary Study of Psychological Types*[2] which at once opened a door throwing a flood of light on the matter, and proved a great stimulus to my own observations. I recognized that I had been separating the extraverts from the introverts as Jung designated them, and could clearly follow his distinctions and agree with most of his findings. Jung referred in his original paper to two types only which, according to the primary movement of the libido toward the center, *i.e.*, the ego, or toward the periphery, *i.e.*, the object, he designated the introvert and the extravert. He suggested that there might be other types yet to be defined, but he confined his discussion to the most obvious characteristics of these two main divisions.[3]

[1] Published in *The Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. IX, No. 2.

[2] Jung: *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology.*

[3] Since this chapter was written Dr. Jung has issued a book called *Psychological Types* which expresses his latest findings on this subject. Although his mode of approach has somewhat altered from his original studies, and his terminology has changed, it is interesting to note that we have independently arrived at very similar observations and deductions regarding the type distinctions.

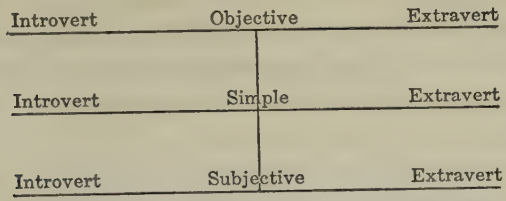
Jung's type classification is now based on the various psychic functions used primarily by individuals in their adaptation. Thus he distinguishes four types, the thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition types, differing according to whether they are extraverted or introverted. His description of these types bears a close relation to those I have described, but they cannot be identified, because my classification is determined by certain definite psychological mechanisms which are universally valid, and is concerned with the individual as a unity; the various functions used in adaptation serving to differentiate individuals within the same type.

As time went on, however, it became increasingly evident that finer distinctions were necessary if any deeper understanding of personality was to be gained. For, while these two major directions of the libido were everywhere obvious, other tendencies of the personality produced great differences in the character traits and reactions among the introverts and extraverts themselves. For instance, Jung in this paper regarded the tough-minded of William James' classification as equivalent to the extravert, and the tender-minded as equivalent to the introvert; but it became apparent with closer study that there was a definite group of extraverts who were as tender-minded as the classical introvert and, contrariwise, many introverted philosophers and scientists were as tough-minded as the typical extravert. Also his association of the introvert and extravert with the two types described by Otto Gross, from the realm of psychiatry, one possessing a diffuse and shallow consciousness, and the other a deep and concentrated consciousness, appeared not to be justified from the data provided by actual individuals; for the forms of psychic functioning described by Gross could be found in a greater or less degree among both extravert and introvert types.

Further observations introduced a much more complex problem into the subject of types but at the same time resulted in a much finer differentiation among individuals belonging to the two main divisions. In time it became possible to tell almost immediately to which type an individual belonged and, knowing this, to prognosticate what an investigation of the psychological situation would probably reveal.

My personal investigations have led me to subdivide each of the two main type divisions into three groups: *i.e.,* the simple extravert and the simple introvert, corresponding in general with Jung's original description; the objective extravert and the objective introvert, conforming more strictly to James' classification of the tough-minded; and the subjective extravert and the emotional introvert, both characterized by a greater subjectivity and emotional quality than are to be found among

the simple types. Diagrammatically, one could represent this division on a vertical rod thus:



I have called the subjective persons, *subjective extraverts* when the major movement of the libido is outward towards the periphery, towards the object; and *emotional introverts* when the major movement is inward towards the center, the ego. In the name "subjective" extravert I express the distinguishing attitude which separates this type from the simple extravert whose conscious interest is turned wholly to the outer world and its objects and who is but dimly aware of the subjective factor. Likewise I use the name "emotional" introvert in the same way to emphasize the particular quality which distinguishes this type from the simple introvert, whose behavior and manner are noticeably lacking in outward emotional expression and impulse.

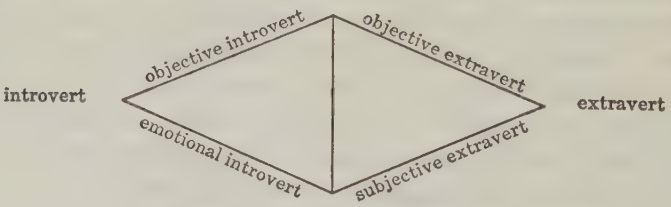
The distinction in behavior and character traits between the subjective and objective groups of the same main type is so great as often to be more apparent than the distinction between extravert and introvert, and hence, from a descriptive point of view I refer to these groups as the subjective and objective types. In each of the subjective types is found something of the nature of both extravert and introvert with an alternating centripetal and centrifugal movement of the libido, first one, then the other predominating. This tendency produces a marked duality and instability in the psychic organism for, since the subjective functions and attitudes play the dominant rôle, there is difficulty in obtaining a true perception of outer reality.

The objective types, dividing them as I divide the others

according to the dominating mechanism of extraversion or introversion, are the absolute antitheses of the subjective types. They possess little or no differentiation of the subjective functions of feeling and intuition but they are limited to the simple sense perception of things, apperception playing a minor rôle, and are quite unaware that values exist of which they have no comprehension.

Thus altogether I now distinguish six types of individuals, all of whom are well defined with differences and psychological distinctions to be reckoned with, if any mutual understanding or any true criterion of behavior and attitude is to be gained.

The great major type divisions which can be recognized everywhere are the extravert and the introvert. They are as definitely defined in the psychological field as are masculine and feminine in the biological. These types are opposite and complementary. All the others are modifications; the objective types and the subjective, or bisexual types as I have also termed them, depending for their definition or classification upon the way in which they employ their various psychic functions and according to the degree in which these functions are differentiated. The subjective types embrace the most complex individuals and include the most creative personalities, while the objective types include the simplest and least complicated. I can, perhaps, illustrate this grouping more clearly by a diagram:



Here we place the simple types of extraverts and introverts at the opposite acute angles of a parallelogram. Proceeding from these opposite points the descending lines represent the

subjective or bisexual types, with the degree of subjective or inner world relationship indicated by the depth of descent. All above on the ascending lines belong to the objective types, the degree of objective or outer world relationship likewise indicated by the position on the sides. The highest point of the parallelogram indicates the point of meeting of the two opposite objective types, for whom the world of the senses, the external world, is all that exists. They often appear to present similar behavior and qualities, especially when the relation to objective reality has been carried to the extreme limit chiefly through identification with the function of sensation. This similarity, however, is external only; a close examination will reveal the great type distinction still preserved in the quality of the relation. The lowest point indicates likewise the meeting of the two opposite subjective types, the emotional introvert and the subjective extravert, in whom the subjective or inner world quite overshadows the outer world of reality, the ideal world becoming the reality for these persons. But here, too, although an apparent merging of the differences takes place, the dim outlines of the distinctive features of the two types are visible to the careful observer.

It is among those persons approximating each other so closely as to cause the character traits and reactions to appear similar that we find the greatest difficulties in diagnosing the type to which they really belong, and this differentiation requires a fine diagnostic sense.

Another great source of error and confusion in diagnosing the type to which a given person belongs, lies in the fact that the reactions of the one type may be assumed by an individual belonging to another type. For instance, one might consider an individual to be an extravert, because he displays in reactions and superficial character those qualities and tendencies which we associate with the extravert type. Through unconscious identification, often with a parent of the opposite type whom he admires, his own type characteristics become covered over and concealed. A little careful observation, however, will re-

veal certain inconsistencies and attitudes not in keeping with the apparent type and soon all the earmarks of a forced and unconsciously constructed disguise come peeping forth. These individuals, who through the need for a better adaptation identify with a mechanism not their own, all belong to the bisexual types and, therefore, are at the mercy of both movements of the libido, the constant alternation of which produces the instability so characteristic of these persons. The attempt is made to assume the rôle of one or the other of the stable types through an overcompensation or overdetermination. This tilts the scale in the desired direction for the purpose of arriving at a stabilization and better adaptation to the outer world.

The effort is generally doomed to failure and frequently breaks down under the artificial strain imposed upon the personality. For it is only through a real individual development that one may pass beyond the confines of type or transcend even partially the collective bondage which our organism imposes on us all. Even then it is probable that the major direction of the libido is never so obliterated that the practised observer could be for long in doubt as to which type the individual really belonged.

From the foregoing it will be clear that in gathering these mixed individuals into a special group and calling them subjective types, I have by no means exhausted the possibilities of further type division nor have I arranged any rigidly limited scheme to which all people must be made to conform. The individual differences and permutations of functions will always produce variation, and it is the differences which are more important to us than the likenesses. Therefore, this scheme of classification based on similarities of action and reaction both within the organism and in relation to the outer world, simply provides a loose division of mankind into smaller groups for practical purposes. Its greatest value lies in the guidance it offers to a better understanding of human relationships; for, through some knowledge of the type to which a human being

most nearly belongs, it is possible to know in advance something of what to expect in the way of reaction to and conduct in a given situation. In this way those grievous mistakes which interfere with and spoil human relationships should be lessened; for one would not expect of another something that is obviously impossible for him to be, nor condemn him so cruelly because he does not live up to some ideal which we possess. Armed with some understanding of probabilities of conduct and reaction, according to the type to which the individual belongs, we might be less exacting in our demands upon our fellows and more exacting upon ourselves. We might then replace criticism and condemnation of our neighbor with sympathy and the understanding that he is more or less bound within the limits of his type until such time as his increasing knowledge and development enables him to transcend its limitations, even as we ourselves.

SIMPLE EXTRAVERT AND SIMPLE INTROVERT

My application of these terms to a definite psychological type rather than to the description of a movement of the libido —a use which, since Jung first introduced the terms, has become quite general—demands some elucidation. It is, of course, understood that all normal persons possess in some degree regardless of type the capacity for both extraversion and introversion of the libido. Because the individuals whom I have called simple extraverts and simple introverts reveal so clearly in their objective behavior the marked differences between the extraverted attitude and the introverted attitude, they can each be regarded as the mean or the standard of comparison for all the modifications within the special types. The variations from these typical individuals can be recognized and estimated in relation to them and, while the various functions through which adaptation is made produce marked differences among individuals of the same type, nevertheless the degree of subjectivity and objectivity is of prime importance.

This is why I have chosen this condition of degree as the mark of distinction for classifying the definite groups of individuals which I call objective introverts and extraverts, and subjective extraverts, for a certain degree of subjectivity is the normal attitude of all introverts. Whenever we see a person eagerly occupied and absorbed in external affairs, we say he is extraverting. Similarly, when he is withdrawn and occupied with inner problems we say he is introverting. Human adaptation, not to mention change of environment, would not be possible without some kind of extraversion, for, when introversion takes place and the individual is largely or entirely withdrawn from externality, and turned toward his inner processes of feeling and thought, any active adaptation to the outer world practically ceases.[1]

Many degrees exist of this temporary withdrawal of libido from occupation with the external world of objects, but in the extravert this withdrawal rarely occurs excepting in response to a specific stimulus from without, a definite disappointment, a psychic blow, or an obstacle which seems insurmountable; or it may be a personal affront or extreme fatigue that has been the causal factor, throwing him back into himself, and calling him away from the exclusive preoccupation with outer objects. But even here, following the mechanism of his type, which is to push away all painful situations and

[1] What can be called a normal condition of almost complete introversion is experienced by every one during the process of sleep, when the individual is wholly in relation with his own inner state and only in the slightest degree responsive to outer stimuli. Likewise, the lessening of attention and interest towards matters connected with the outside world, that state of passivity and inertia which occurs during an illness, when all the available energy of the organism is needed for its repair and restoration, is another easily observable condition of introversion. Furthermore, this state can arise temporarily from some slight derangement of the organic processes, which causes the spirit to feel "low." Besides these normal introverted processes common to every one, there are other times in the midst of his every-day life, when the individual feels himself withdrawn and turned away from his ordinary interests, and the value and importance of his activities seem greatly diminished without any obvious change in his outer affairs.

These physiological conditions, however, are not the form of introversion which we are here discussing, but an entirely different condition which is characterized by an habitual endopsychic process existing from birth.

unpleasant conditions as far from himself as possible, he turns from the disagreeable situation as rapidly as he can, refusing to face it unless forced to do so, believing that his motto, "Forget it," is a panacea for his disturbance, and expresses the condition most to be desired. This is a definite effort at repression which may be conscious or unconscious, and is the normal attitude of all extraverted persons who attempt to ignore what is unpleasant and who immediately try to place their interest and attention upon another object. Therefore, whenever a true introversion of any depth spontaneously occurs in the extravert it must be regarded in a different light from the same condition occurring in the introvert, since it is quite contrary to his psychology.

The introvert, on the contrary, possesses the tendency to withdraw from the external object, quite independent of the specific outer condition acting as an exciting cause. The cause with him is found in an endopsychic state, in which the libido is occupied with thought creations or phantasies; although, following the general tendency of mankind, he may blame his environment for his lack of interest. However, a certain quality of reserve and withdrawal is recognized as more or less characteristic of this type. The definite introversion, therefore, can assume much wider limits than for the opposite type and still be regarded as normal, for it is merely an increase of a natural psychic tendency. When a painful situation or difficulty in the external world arises for this type, instead of throwing it from him as quickly as possible, he takes it to himself and, holding it close, retires to brood and meditate over it. Thus the stimulus continues and accumulates energy, finally forcing action. Therefore, when he does overcome and detach himself from the situation, and is able to come out to the world again, he is generally much freer and more able to find another object of interest or satisfactory adjustment than is the extravert. For the latter merely buries his pain and disappointment in the unconscious, and his forgetting is only a conscious banishment from his own sight; deep in his soul his pain is burrow-

ing, affecting like a dark shadow all his efforts. However, his capacity for losing himself in many objects gives the appearance of successful transference and freedom.

As will be seen these two opposite movements of the libido produce great differences in the behavior and reaction of individuals to the external world and to themselves, and although they both are perfectly normal types, a quite dissimilar psychology results. The extravert feels more at home in the external world; he has many interests and goes out to meet the object. He is immediately responsive to situations as they arise and he deals with the facts of life as they exist, rather than with theories about life as it should be. He is the natural fighting man who generally acts first and thinks afterwards, and he is at home in the tumult and struggle of life. The stimulus to action appears to arise within the organism itself and does not depend upon the external object. His feelings are the immediate guide for his judgment and through their outgoing movement he comes into direct contact with the object, so that his ego and the object become identified. He is aware of the object directly, as it were, his thought processes following and being shaped by the facts as his senses report them. Because there is no obstruction to the outflow of his libido he can meet without difficulty the movement and change of life as it arises. His comparatively successful management of external conditions and people is not due to any thought-out plan, but to his differentiated feeling for the situation, which becomes directly translatable into suitable action. Thus the libido or interest is played directly upon the object and the minimum of loss is sustained. He goes to meet the world, attacks it and engages eagerly in the struggle. The external world and its objects were made for him, or he for them, and he feels himself their equal or their master. Generally for the simple extravert no special conscious effort is connected with the adaptation; the entire psychic work necessary has been carried on in the unconscious. Thus one frequently hears a person of this type say when asked for his reason for this or that judgment or action,

"I don't know, I just feel that way," for thought frequently appears to be a secondary phenomenon supplementing feeling after the decision has been reached. For this reason also the extravert is rarely self-conscious, unless forced to this by others, and generally gives an impression of assurance and superiority, even though this is not consciously realized or felt.

There are two main and divergent paths leading to the external world over which energy travels in response to the needs of the human being; the path of direct action, with the functions of feeling or sensation plus feeling as the chief guide, and the path of delayed action, with thought or thought plus sensation as the chief guide. William James calls thought "arrested action," and the Bhagavad Gita says "thought is act in fancy." This is most easily verified in the extravert who becomes a thinker. His quick direct action tends to become slower; certain characteristics which belong normally to the introvert appear, and frequently the individual finds his relation to the world not so easy and smooth as before. His generally swift, sure contact with life and its movement, which adaptation through differentiated feeling and direct action produces, is interfered with, while libido is diverted into thought about the situation. How often one hears such a person say, "If only I had followed my feelings in this or that matter it would have been so much better." Rarely can such a statement be made by an introvert for his feeling is not adapted to the object but to the subject; therefore, to follow his feeling would be equivalent to following his desire or wish, *but not the demand of the situation itself.*

It is the overwhelming influence of the situation or object with which the extravert identifies himself so easily, that produces the impression of his having no independent opinion but the commonplace and collective one—for it is his action towards and management of a situation, rather than his thought, which shows his individual character. However, the matter of collective opinion as well as of collective action is not confined to types but can be found amongst all types, depending upon how

much actual development of the individual principle has been achieved.

In the realm of science and philosophy, where the man of action has become the man of thought, we find the same great distinction between the two types, for the thought process of the extravert is of a totally different character from that of the introvert. The extravert thinker bears a close resemblance to the type that William James has characterized as the tough-minded philosopher, in contradistinction to the tender-minded, who is closer to the introvert or at least to the subjective types. Jung, in his discussion of the types, quotes James' description, and I cannot do better than to follow his example.

> The tough-minded man is positivist and empiricist. He deals only with matters of fact. Experience is his teacher and guide. It is empirical phenomena demonstrable in the world which counts. For him psychic reality limits itself to the observation of pleasure and pain; he does not go beyond that nor can he recognize the rights of philosophical thought. In the eyes of these philosophers, principles are never of such value as facts; they can only reflect and describe the sequence of phenomena; they cannot construct a system. Thus their theories are exposed to contradiction under the overwhelming accumulation of empirical material. Remaining on the everchanging surface of the phenomenal world, they partake of its instability; carried away in the chaotic tumult of the universe, they see all its aspects, all its theoretic and practical possibilities, and because of this they can never arrive at the unity or fixity of a settled system, which alone can satisfy the tender-minded or idealist. The positivist depreciates all values in reducing them to elements lower than himself; he explains the higher by the lower, and dethrones it by showing that it is nothing but such another thing, and has no value in itself. The positivist is a sensualist, giving greater value to the senses than to reflection which transcends it. He is a materialist, and at bottom a pessimist, for he knows only too well the hopeless uncertainty of the course of things. He is irreligious, not being able to hold to the realities of the inner world as opposed to the pressure of external facts; he is a

pluralist and finally a skeptic as a last and inevitable consequence of all the rest.[1]

As a description of the thinking of the objective types this could hardly be improved upon. It will also be recognized that the general character of present-day theoretic and scientific thinking belongs to this type.

Exactly opposite is the normal reaction of the introvert, both as a thinker and as a doer. He is normally most interested in the inner life and the subjective values and, therefore, approximates the tender-minded. James says, they are characterized by rationalism, they are men of principles and of systems, they aspire to dominate experience and to transcend it by abstract reasoning, by their logical deductions and purely rational conceptions. They care little for facts and the multiplicity of phenomena hardly embarrass them at all. They forcibly fit data into their ideal constructions and reduce everything to their *a priori* premises. He further speaks of the tender-minded individual as "idealistic, intellectual, optimistic, religious in spirit, partizan of free will, a monist, and a dogmatist."

This describes the mental characteristics of the simple introvert very well. Outwardly he most frequently appears as a calm, unemotional, pleasant, kindly individual, who gives little surface indication of his real feelings. His response to stimuli is indirect, through thought; the movement of the libido is centripetal, and his feelings and emotions are directed inward instead of outward and tend towards the center instead of the periphery. This brings him in direct relation with the ego and, therefore, because his feelings remain with the ego and are separated from the object, he does not make the immediate and direct contact with the object that is made by the extravert. The endogenous stimulus does not direct him to action, or to attack the world, but passes into thinking about it, and to the creation of theories and plans. He desires the stimulus to come from the world without, to be attacked, as it were, before he

[1] Jung: *A Preliminary Study of Psychological Types.*

can become active, and then his action only follows a carefully thought-out plan. Thus, for the introvert, action is often uncertain and delayed, and in situations where prompt and direct response is needed, by the time he is ready, the right moment has passed and he has missed the opportunity.

The uncertainty and slowness in action of the introvert can be explained by his lack of a feeling grasp of the object, his emotional response passing instantaneously into thinking about it and logical reasoning over the situation. His feeling is in relation to his own ego as object, which causes a division in his psychic processes. In other words, instead of the complete merging of the ego with the object, which takes place normally with the extravert, there are two objects for the introvert, his own ego with the ideas it creates, and the external object. His feeling is in relation with one object, his ego, and his thought is in relation with the other, the external thing separate from himself, but which he draws within himself to consider. Thus a certain obstacle must be overcome before action can occur. The thought process must be completed satisfactorily; and sufficient energy accumulated to possess the power to carry out the action according to the plan. His difficulty arises when he attempts to put this plan into practical application. He finds in life the irrational element which defies the logical arrangement, and which requires for meeting it differentiated feeling for the object. His lack lies in the realm of feeling, which is unadapted and undeveloped in relation to the external irrational world, so that, whenever the changing conditions of life demand a quick valuation and readjustment, he is unable to meet it adequately. Because his feeling finds its object within, in the ego, and in the ideal world self-created, it is not actively responsive to the demands of the external world and, in relation to this, it remains relatively immature and undeveloped; it retains an infantile and archaic character which is characteristic of any unadapted function. This does not mean that the introverted person is without feelings any more than that the extraverted person does not think, but it does mean that

the feelings of the introvert are largely undifferentiated and illy adapted to meet the external demands of life.

The introvert's close association of feeling with the personal ego causes an intense self-awareness which, to the simple extravert, is quite unknown; and this, together with the realization of his inadequacy and uncertainty towards the outside world, produces a peculiar sense of inferiority which, however deeply hidden, is a fundamental characteristic of the introverted personality. The overcoming of this and the painful effect which it produces is the chief aim of the psyche, the deep underlying purpose of all its strivings, and in this struggle lies the dominant motive of the life—"the will to power." This continuous striving Adler calls "the masculine protest," and it very concretely describes the effort which so largely dominates the life of the introvert in either masculine or feminine form. For it is not actual power in the real world that he seeks—this is the extravert's desire—but the overcoming of the unbearable feeling of inferiority which appears to him to depend upon the domination of the object.

The feminine principle can be said to be the dominant of this type, on account of the inward flowing movement of the libido which finds its object in the inner subjective self-created world as opposed to the demands of the outer external reality.[1] However, the claims of the organic senses and the needs of the physical life—in other words, the impulse of self-preservation and expansion, the function of the ego, out of which the mechanism of "the will to power" is born—are forever causing the individual to strive towards the overcoming of this inner tendency by the conquering of the outer world. Therefore, in reality we frequently find the introvert a most dominant and masculine personality, over-masculine indeed, for in order to win power in this concrete material world he has to overcome the resistance of his inturning libido and, therefore, must put forth a powerful effort which forces him beyond thought into

[1] Herein we see the basis of the old time postulate of the antagonism between spirit and matter.

action. In thus competing with the extravert on his own terms, to whom the smell of battle and struggle is as meat to the nostrils, the introvert most frequently achieves his gain at the expense of a great loss, the sacrifice of his own inner values, and the corresponding acquisition of what can be called a mental myopia. In other words, through the entire crushing out of his subjective functions he becomes wholly objective-minded, a thinking machine, and thus loses those apperceptive capacities necessary for understanding human values.

There are two prominent Americans who illustrate most completely the two opposite types of simple extravert and introvert, and whose differences have been obvious to all. I refer to our former presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. From the foregoing description of the characteristics of the two types, it is quite evident, I am sure, to which group these opposite characters belong. Roosevelt, the fighter, impulsive, direct in his attacks, never allowed any one to be long in doubt as to his opinions or as to his actions. With a fine feeling and sense for people and events, his power lay in his quick identification with the object and immediate action. He had no time or patience for abstract thinking or for theories about affairs. As the situation presented itself to his mind he responded almost instantly. His motto was "Get it done, never mind the means." His famous altercation with Taft over the legal right to a certain action is a case in point. He made warm friends and strong enemies, and was a perfect example of one who adapts through the feeling function in direct contact with the object. True to type his thinking was conventional and limited to the observation and discussion of facts; all abstract thought was entirely foreign to him and his theories were really made over from others' thoughts and ideas assimilated and reformed.

Facts were his strongest interests, theories were of value only as related to facts. Quickly responsive to all stimuli, he had a keen sense for events and situations; he was a man who could pick men, one who had no hesitation in action or in

carrying out any plan once his mind had grasped the situation. He was essentially the fighting male.

Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, was the typical simple introvert type, the kind of thinker whom William James calls the tender-minded. Let me repeat James' description of the tender-minded philosopher: "He is idealistic, intellectual, optimistic, religious in spirit, partizan of free will, a monist, and dogmatist. He cares little for facts, and the multiplicity of phenomena hardly embarrass him at all; he forcibly fits data into his ideal construction and reduces everything to his *a priori* premises." Could any description better fit the case? Contrary to Roosevelt's warm responsiveness and quick action, Wilson was slow in action, with a famous policy called "watchful waiting." He was not in direct contact with the object, but drew it towards him to consider it carefully and abstractly before committing himself. He was called unemotional and cold, was unable to pick men, and failed to grasp the all-round facts of a situation. On the other hand, he could construct an international world vision or a religious philosophical political theory; he was a student and thinker, but when action was demanded of him he was found lacking in the power his theories would lead one to expect. He has referred to himself as having a single-track mind, meaning that when his thought was occupied with one idea, he could not quickly adjust it to include another and, having once thought out a path of action, he must unswervingly follow it, no matter what new aspect of the situation arose which demanded a quick readjustment. His weakness obviously lay in action and in the lack of feeling for the object. It is interesting in this connection to note that the idealists and introverts generally have a high regard and consideration for Wilson, while the extraverts and men of direct action regard him as a failure and consider Roosevelt the hero.

In another way one may say briefly that the extravert puts the accent on the object, and the introvert on the ego or subject. The extravert grasps the actual situation and, feeling his way, acts according to the demand of the time. The introvert

thinks in and about, as it were, able to act effectively only after a fully worked-out line of procedure, in which the subject is first and the object is second. He normally waits to be attacked before he can satisfactorily take action.

It would seem from this entirely different attitude towards the object that the extravert overvalued the object and the introvert the subject and, indeed, it appears that way viewed from the outside, but a deeper insight reveals just the opposite situation. For it is the introvert who overvalues the object and undervalues himself in his relation to it. The object for him has a magic power; it overwhelms him and would destroy him; therefore he must defend himself and hold himself away from its power while devising protective measures by which his safety is insured.

As a highly cultivated introvert once expressed it to me, "When the world is inanimate or unpeopled I am at ease. When they do not exist, I can expand. The other way, when I must be one among others, I seem overwhelmed and threatened with immediate, not ultimate, extinction. I become a pigmy. I am curious about the others. They awe me, or—disgust me. I am not part of their magic circle. I only look on. My curiosity is aroused, but they are enigmatical. Their secrets I do not know nor what bond holds them together."

This clear expression of the subjective attitude of the introvert will be recognized by the most superior types of introverts as well as by those less developed but who, nevertheless, are able to define their inner feelings. One may thus realize why thought constructions for the introvert are so important, for in this way he can construct a world of his own with which to confront or oppose the world of nature.

The extravert on the other hand feels himself one with the object. He is a part of nature—and indeed he feels himself to be the superior part—which he meets either as an equal or as a master. As a part of the whole, he considers he has an equal chance with all the other parts, and—"the best man

wins," the best man being the one who can most successfully by any means dominate the other. He does not fear the object and instead is inclined to underrate it, to ignore it, and indeed will override it to attain the claims of his own desires. This is why I call the extravert the representative of the masculine principle, and more nearly the child of nature, because he is in the closest sensuous relation with the object and acts in the same way as nature. He grasps the actual situation and, feeling his way, proceeds according to its demand.

When however the function of feeling is undeveloped or repressed, and the functions of sensation and of thought largely predominate in adaptation, we then find the simple extravert approaching the objective extravert type. In the same way, when the simple introvert attempts to grasp directly and firmly the actual situation of the external world instead of his images, using thought and sensation as his adaptive functions, he approaches the objective introvert type.

The Objective Types

OBJECTIVE EXTRAVERTS AND OBJECTIVE INTROVERTS

The chief characteristic of the group which I call the Objective types consists in an attitude of mind which seems to reduce all things to their simplest forms and to preclude all complexities and subtleties. For them everything must be defined in terms of their qualities exclusively determined by the concrete sense perceptions and nothing which cannot be measured or weighed has any real meaning for these minds. Practical utility is the measure of value and symbolic creations and meanings are practically non-existent in their consciousness, for imagination is almost lacking. Therefore, no play of mind can take place and facts are simple things possessing just one dimension.

There are two classes of persons who present these characteristics more or less completely. One group can be recognized

in infancy by a certain lack of the warm spontaneity commonly associated with child psychology, and by a certain easy, phlegmatic, good-natured attitude. These children are generally not very impressionable or sensitive and, in the introverted group, are rather slow in response. They are easily satisfied with ordinary sense gratifications and are ready to accept things just as they appear without looking for anything further. They adapt to life with little difficulty and do not attempt to make it other than what it appears to their senses to be. These persons are generally conscientious, reliable, unemotional, unesthetic, and unromantic. The feeling function plays the smallest part in their personality, and the simple perception of sensory pleasure and pain is their real guide. They are psychologically still unawakened, for the subjective functions, intuition and feeling, have remained in the same undifferentiated condition since infancy.

The other group really belongs to the simple introvert or extravert types but with perhaps somewhat less possession of the feeling function than is general to these types, and with a greater emphasis on the function of sensation. Through the effort of adaptation to the reality principle, and the desire for power in the real world, these persons gradually increase their natural objectivity through a more exclusive utilization of the objective functions of thought and sensation, until feeling gradually sinks back into the unconscious and plays no further part in connection with adaptation. One may say that normally the extravert type, because of his being orientated to the external world and in closest relation with objects, may be expected to approach nearer this purely objective attitude than the introvert; but the introvert can use the thought function in the same way, so that his thoughts become materialized and objectified as definitely as sense objects themselves. In this way he becomes identified with his thoughts and subjective images, as completely as the extravert becomes identified with the external object. Thus through this overdetermined attitude there are produced those cold, hard materialists afflicted with

a kind of mental blindness which is the consequence of their forced attempts to conquer reality and win power. Indeed, we have a nation at the present time in which this objective introverted psychology is most marked, and its complete lack of any subjective grasp of reality has been only too evident in its behavior.

It is in this extremely objective-minded class of individuals that the introvert and extravert types meet as diagrammatically expressed; for, while one approaches life directly through sensation and thought and the other through thought and sensation, they are both turned wholly toward the conquering of the external world, and neither has any feeling development for the object and therefore no perception of anything else than hard, cold fact and logic. Their sole means of contact with life is through the sense perceptions of the tangible object, worked out in thought. These two processes are the entire guide for judgment. The possible existence of any "other world" than that apprehended by the five senses is totally unknown to them, and for all "inner problems," dissatisfactions disconnected from one's material welfare, or "nonsense about other worldness," they have no patience, and consider for all such ailments a liver pill is the remedy. These are the practical-minded individuals, hard-headed business men, scientists, and philosophers whose vision and understanding are limited to one dimension. This type of individual is found among all classes, however, and is characterized by the lack of capacity for any understanding of matters other than the immediate tangible fact and the information gained through sense perception.

They may have great knowledge but do not possess understanding. One often hears them referred to as people entirely lacking in imagination, and they are the exact antitheses of the subjective types whose feelings and intuitions are the most dominant functions. These are the people who are characterized by James as "the once born, whose world is a sort of rectilinear or one-storied affair, whose accounts are kept in

one denomination, whose parts have just the values they appear to have, and of which a simple algebraic sum of pluses and minuses will give the total worth."

Persons of this description will be easily recognized, for they are the ones to whom one can speak the same language without being understood, and whose entire outlook is bounded by the concrete material facts of life. Between them and the subjective types whose reality has a varied color, and who are often most strongly orientated to the inner world and for whom the external world is a place of complexity and difficulty, there is an impassable gulf which can never be bridged.

I can give many illustrations of this type of person. A professional man of about fifty-five years of age once called at my office to consult me about a trivial matter. It was obvious that this was only an excuse, for when this subject was concluded he did not leave but rather apologetically said he would like to talk about something else. He then told me about himself. He was married and had grown children, but had been finding during the last few years a peculiar emptiness in life; he became conscious that he had no real feelings for anything or any one; he was not interested in any general or public affairs; he found his world very limited; his specialty occupied him, but he realized that outside of this he had no relation with anything except as it appealed to his senses—good food, good clothes, a comfortable home. He felt that life was practically over for him, and there was nothing else to do but cater to his physical needs. He generally spent the evenings and far into the night reading. It was of this he wished to speak. His reading matter consisted of detective stories and cheap romances. The special question that he wished to inquire of me, "a woman experienced in human life problems," was whether there really is such a thing as love, and is it actually capable of affecting and influencing a person's life. He had read so much about it in these romances that, while he believed it was only a figment of the writers' imagination, still he would like to know if it was possible that such a thing ever really existed. He was

careful to assure me that this was not a personal problem to him but simply a matter of curiosity.

This man belonged to the objective extravert type with practically no development of the thought function. He was a college graduate, of a pleasant, agreeable appearance and kindly, well-meaning manner, and yet his psychological poverty was so great that he was past fifty years of age before there arose a dim, shadowy foreboding that there might be some experience possible in life other than the pure sensuous and sensual perceptions and their gratification. Then the best that he could do towards helping himself in this direction was the reading of cheap, sentimental love stories—a pathetic confession of the psychological emptiness of a life in which the function of sensation is the sole means of adaptation and relationship between the subject and object. Detective stories to whip up jaded sensations and dime novels as a substitute for the feelings of love!

Equally typical, but of the objective introvert type, is this story:

A well-developed, good-looking woman, educated and occupying a responsible position, decided at forty-eight years of age that it might be desirable to be married; to have a companion would be an agreeable experience. Up to this time she had never had a conscious desire or thought of marriage for herself. As a young woman she was opposed to any such condition due to her observations of the hard life of her mother and other older women with numerous children and little else. Therefore, she prepared herself for a life of professional work in the world. This she fulfilled quite successfully both for herself and others. She had no intimate friends, although plenty of superficial ones of her own sex. Men were simply human beings whom one met in work, but were of no special interest except "to talk with for an outside point of view." Her life was uneventful and she was well satisfied. Then it occurred to her after the marriage of an acquaintance, that marriage might be a pleasant change for her. She also reflected that she

had done very little playing and had had little relaxation in her life, so this also might be a good thing to experience, and at the same time might afford an opportunity to meet a possible marriage partner. Accordingly, she decided to take a vacation of some weeks and went to a resort recommended by a friend. Here a man considerably younger than herself was employed in a minor capacity. She met him several times in connection with purely perfunctory business matters. Then she decided she would like to swim, and as this man was an instructor, she could employ him to teach her. This proved an attractive new sensation, and she began to think this man was a pleasing personality who, perhaps, might do for the marriage partner. She thought the matter over considerably, and decided that she would like to know him outside of purely business contacts, with the object of settling the question of his suitability as a husband. Accordingly, knowing no more about him than the superficial contact at the hotel had revealed, she wrote him a note telling him she would like to know him better with the object of marriage, if they were mutually satisfied. He was to write her a note in reply. No answer coming, she called him on the telephone and, to his embarrassed replies to her questions as to whether her note had been received, and what he thought about it, she assured him that he need not feel troubled over his evident inability to meet her plans. She just thought it might be advantageous to both and, therefore, she saw no reason she should not present the plan to him. There was no hard feeling that he did not agree with her idea.

Such a total lack of a feeling appreciation of the situation as this conduct on the part of a woman reveals is almost incomprehensible to one of another type, and yet she could not understand that there was anything peculiar in this behavior. "Was this not perfectly logical conduct?" This attitude shows very clearly the lack of judgment from the standpoint of feeling in human relations which characterizes this type and also shows how naïve and easily taken advantage of is such a personality.

A man of this same objective introvert type once said to me when he had begun to gain the use of the subjective functions, "Is this what the world is like to other people? I never knew there could be anything more delightful than the sensation of a warm bath or delicious cream and coffee! But this new feeling I seem to have found is entirely unlike these pleasures."

These persons whose expressions and behavior I have here discussed all belong to the group of objective types whom I distinguish as psychologically unawakened, the simple sense perception being the major function of adaptation. In other words, the missing functions necessary for an adequate fulfilment of a human being have never arisen from the original undifferentiated state and, therefore, they cannot be said to be repressed but rather never to have awakened. As a consequence they are in the most primitive and undeveloped condition, so that the educated man of fifty-five years finds his vicarious substitute for the missing love in sentimental infantile romances, and the woman behaves towards marriage as a child who suddenly experiences a new desire.

In the case of the first man, even the thought function was in this same undeveloped condition, so that his ideas about life were of an equally puerile character. This was not the case with the woman. I must also emphasize the fact that in no one of these cases was there any question of a neurosis.

On the other hand, among the objective types there are many powerful personalities in whom it is only too evident that the mechanism of repression has operated to the greatest degree, robbing them of all use of the subjective functions, in the service of an overweening determination to conquer and dominate, either through thought creations or through the shaping of external reality, by sheer force.

Although these individuals may have no insight into their own psychology, the condition of mental myopia, as Professor Edgar Wilson terms it in speaking of a class of scientists with no vision, is generally not as satisfactory a state to the introvert as it may be to the extravert under the same conditions.

He is generally conscious of a vague longing and dissatisfaction and becomes aware that something is lacking in his relation to life, although he has no means for grasping the lack. He futilely attempts to appease this by searching in the external world for more and different objective sensations, more power or things, through which he vainly thinks satisfaction can be obtained, but the only result is a more impregnable blindness than before.

Satisfaction can only be reached through gaining possession of the inner world, the realm of the ideal; for the introvert's real values lie in the unconscious, in the depths, and must be sought there, and not in the world of sense. The very real need and difficulty of the introverted person to find an adequate means adapted to deal with objective reality, instead of merely thinking or reflecting about it, produce at the same time the danger of the overcompensation in which sensation or thought alone becomes the sole function, to the great loss of the personality. This approximation of the organism to the character of a machine can proceed to an almost unbelievable extent, with the corresponding absence of those qualities which we call human, and which are manifested through feelings and intuitions. These people may command attention and regard through their ability and power but they do not gain love and affection.

The psychology of nations presents the same type distinctions and differences that we find in individuals. Therefore, by studying the dominant reactions and behavior of a nation one can soon learn to what type it belongs, and through that come to an understanding and appreciation of its method and conduct.

Our clear-cut types of simple extravert and introvert are most completely represented by the two great nations of England and Germany, and their opposite methods of striving for the same goal most clearly reveals the great distinction between them. Further, in the struggle for power and control in the

concrete commercial world, there has been produced in both of them a certain degree of what I call concrete-mindedness that approximates the objective types. It is almost impossible, at best, for one type to understand the other; and when they are both focused upon the same object, so that they become rivals, the opposition and resistance is complete. In World War I could be seen the struggle between two equally blind forces, operating with the relentlessness of a machine, each bent upon the domination or destruction of the other. This was the result of their becoming rivals instead of complementing each other as would a normal relationship, did each follow his own path instead of attempting to assume a rôle which properly belonged to the other.

England is the typical extravert, strong, dominant, masculine, aggressive, direct in action, with eyes definitely focused on the external object. John Bull, called the opportunist, ready to take advantage of any opening presenting itself, making one when none exists, with no definite thought-out policy or plan of action until the moment arrives, was nevertheless practically ruler of the world. The hard objective commercial world of the present day was largely created by him and for him, and here he is at home. Stable, secure in himself, self-satisfied, he definitely and naturally accepted the reality principle of the world and made it his own. This condition gave him that sense of superiority which has for so long been associated with the typical Englishman, to the great annoyance and irritation of the rest of mankind. It is not chance that John Bull is the symbolic figure, and instead of a mother country England should be referred to as father. Turning from England's external activity to her men of thought, what do we find? Observers of facts, who can study the phenomena of life and discover its laws; empiricists, but few abstract thinkers in the sense that Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and a host of others were. Indeed Darwin and Kant are good examples of the distinctions between the two types of thought.

Poincaré, the French physicist, in attempting to express the

distinction between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin minds, said: "The former are uneasy until they can imagine a mechanical model to represent natural phenomena; the latter are satisfied with a mathematical formula expressing the action. The ether, which was invented to explain light, also required 'explanation.' Lord Kelvin imagined it to consist of spinning tops which have a sort of mobile stability. Sir Oliver Lodge has filled it with a complicated structure of interlocking geared wheels to account for electro-magnetic action. These are typical Anglo-Saxon modes of thinking." A little book on Einstein's theory uses this quotation, and adds: "On the other hand Einstein, in spite of his Hebrew blood and German training, has preëminently what Poincaré claims as the Latin temperament. He does not have to use the ether and does not care at all whether he can 'picture' the fourth dimension on paper or not." [1]

This little extract presents in another form the great distinction in the psychic processes of the two types. If the author had substituted the *introvert type* for the "Latin temperament" then there would be no difficulty in his reconciling French thought with Hebrew blood and German training, for they all belong to the introvert type of thought, while the Anglo-Saxon belongs to the characteristic extravert type.

It is to introverted Germany that we must go for the highest development of abstract philosophical and idealistic thinking. True to type, in this realm her masculine principle finds its expression, and when, departing from her natural field, she assumes the extraverted mode of aggressive action, she must of necessity produce an overdetermined behavior and be doomed to failure when matched against an equally strong and naturally extraverted power. One of her greatest statesmen spoke of her scornfully as a nation of philosophers, poets, and dreamers. It is this natural Germany that corresponds to the simple introvert type as described. If our world had been one in

[1] Edwin B. Slosson: *Easy Lessons in Einstein.*

which philosophy, science, and poetry were held in equal regard with trade, commerce, and machinery, Germany might have continued to use her own functions in the realm for which they are fitted and have found her path to power along lines where her supremacy could hold unchallenged. Then the history of the world would have been differently written.

Instead, we have witnessed the supreme effort of an introverted nation to adapt to the objective reality of concrete materialism through the assumption of an extraverted mechanism, and have seen her become the rival in his own field of a powerful extraverted neighbor.

Only a nation of tremendous force and energy could achieve, in the few years which were at Germany's disposal, the extraordinary change in her attitude and aims and the material accomplishment which caused her to become a formidable rival of the world power which had ruled so long. A study of the methods used to produce this achievement reveals the overwhelming application of force and power by which the leaders brought about the discipline and training of themselves and their people. Thus the objectification and translation of their thought processes into direct and powerful action were made possible. As before discussed, in reference to the objective-minded introvert, this attainment could only be gained at the expense of a great loss to the personality, the crushing out of the subjective values, the loss of her finest contribution to civilization, her soul values, and the acquisition of a mental blindness. This loss of mental vision was so complete that it, more than anything else, lost Germany the war and frustrated all her great efforts. It caused her to lose entire understanding of the rest of the world, and to find herself finally alone, bewildered and unable to comprehend wherein she had sinned so much more grievously than the rest of the belligerents.

We have here a huge example of the failure of logical thought separated from feeling and applied logically to life as an exclu-

sive means of adaptation. Life is irrational; the unexpected rules; and when the individual or group attempts entirely to ignore the irrational elements which carry those precious human values, without which life would be only a mechanical contrivance devoid of both warmth and color, he is doomed to most certain failure.

Because of this extremely rational thought process by means of which Germany's great material development was achieved, she could not conceive that England did not proceed in like manner and that, when the leaders stated that actually they had no planned-out world policy, this was the literal truth. It is entirely inconceivable to the introvert that it is possible to meet successfully and even dominate life without a consciously thought-out plan with all details arranged for in advance. It would be impossible for him, for the psychic mechanism used by the extravert is not normally possessed by the introvert—hence the difficulty of his understanding the process.

It is this lack of a feeling function adapted to meet the objective world but remaining instead in closest connection with the ego, that produces the sense of inferiority felt to a greater or less degree by all introverted personalities, and this character trend is recognized as belonging to German psychology as definitely as the attitude of superiority belongs to the English.

In Prussia's great effort to dominate the world and impose her culture upon it, we see operating in its most obvious form "the will to power," Adler's masculine protest, as a means of overcoming the unbearable feeling of inferiority, and the attempt to replace it by the opposite, the feeling of superiority, as conqueror of the world.[1]

[1] In World War II we see Germany repeating her mistakes and the same processes operating as before; the great plan, the tremendous discipline—the almost superhuman effort.

However, this time she found a leader, an inferior individual who symbolized in an extraordinary way Germany's weaknesses, her inferiorities and unredeemed barbarism, who arose in a period of great depression and so stimulated her will-to-power that she exalted him in the highest degree. Her intellectual superiority and philosophic interests were abandoned and to Hitler she transferred

In this study of type characteristics it will soon appear evident that the great distinctions between the attitudes and modes of reaction of individuals and nations resolve themselves into a matter of the degree of subjectivity and objectivity which each possesses. In all the types thus far discussed the major emphasis lies in the realm of objective reality. The distinction between them depends on the degree of movement of the libido and the dominant function used for adaptation to the external world.

Subjective or Bisexual Types

EMOTIONAL INTROVERT AND SUBJECTIVE EXTRAVERT

The subjective or bisexual types, as I have termed them generically, are the most difficult and contradictory of the psychological types. I have used the term bisexual in addition to subjective for these people because in the largest number there is a definite sex duality which both introverted and extraverted members share in common, a kind of psychic androgynism. It will be found that very frequently the individuals were recognized early in childhood as possessing some kind of duality; they were perhaps called by boy's names among their comrades if they were girls, and even boys occasionally received some girl's nickname. In a large number of cases the psychic processes clearly reveal the possession of both masculine and feminine characteristics although the outward behavior may carefully conceal all such dualistic manifestations. Besides the dualism produced through the possession of both masculine and feminine tendencies, there is a dualism which arises through the double movement of the libido; that is, through the possession of both the subjective and objective worlds. It is this duality frequently occurring in both vertical and horizontal directions which gives to these person-

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the blind faith of religious devotion and surrendered herself completely to the dark forces that swept up from her pagan past.

alities a very complex, disturbed, and often insecure and unstable character.[1]

These types possess all possibilities in a more or less fluid state as it were, and the individuals may emphasize any one aspect of the personality so as to make it appear to be the dominant and thus afford a point of fixity. Functioning by means of both mechanisms, these individuals are continually tossed from one side to the other by alternating moods, depending on which one of the pairs of opposites occupies the field. Forming a decision which they implicitly believe one day, the next finds them in a state of doubt and uncertainty and they may change to the completely opposite point of view. The distress caused by this state of instability may be very great, and their desire to conceal the condition and gain a certainty and rest, may cause an almost automatic functioning of the mechanism of repression through which the greatest emphasis may be thrown on one tendency; for instance the function of thought or sensation. When this succeeds these individuals often will be found to be the most rationalistic and the ones who pride themselves on never changing their opinion, or who, blind to all reason and to argument, stubbornly hold to an idea or an attitude despite all evidence that it is unsatisfactory or even positively injurious. They are blind because they are unable to release the tension they have created in order to protect themselves from the unbearable uncertainty and indecision. The rigidity thus produced acts as a stable point of fixation to which they may cling and thus gain a piece of solid ground from which to orientate themselves. But this attitude is entirely compensatory, and they are never able to attain the satisfactory objective attitude which the more stable types possess, for always they are in danger of the eruption of the irrational impulses from the unconscious.

[1] By vertical and horizontal I refer to the diagrammatic presentation of the complete individuality on page 216: masculine and feminine are represented as two sides of the personality, and the subjective and objective tendencies, or inner and outer, are represented on the horizontal line as upper and lower, thus creating a duality in two directions.

Another marked characteristic of these persons is the tendency to *identification*. By this I mean an unconscious assumption of the attitudes and feelings, the burdens and sorrows of others; thus through identification they take on the life experiences that properly belong to others, and live these experiences instead of, or as well as, their own. This tendency belongs to both emotional introvert and subjective extravert, but to the latter, on account of the surrender and mingling of the ego with the object with which the feeling is connected, it is even more disastrous and disturbing than to the emotional introvert. Individuals of the introvert type never wholly lose the ego in the object, although the emotional group may apparently do so for brief periods. But this only appears to be the case, for always within, the "I" is felt distinct and separate from the object. In this distinction lies the great difference between the two subjective types. The subjective extravert surrenders completely to the love object; the great desire is to find the beloved. The emotional introvert apparently surrenders, but for a brief period only; then arises the struggle and reaction, the protest of the ego against absorption in the beloved; the great desire is to find himself. In his love relations the most marked disturbances are to be observed. The intensity of the emotional quality is frequently such that his love bears the character of a plea, rarely that of a gift. It seems necessary for his own existence to have the love of the other. For the subjective types the mother is the great figure, the real love object in the depths of the being. It is as though the psychic umbilical cord had never been cut and, therefore, the individual is still connected with the source of his life and strength. This may be quite unrecognized in reality, and even quite the opposite state may be felt, for the individual can be in the greatest conflict with this bondage, or indeed not yet awakened to the state of object love, still turning around inside of himself, in a condition of complete autoerotism, like that of the child in its early infancy.

EMOTIONAL INTROVERT

It will be remembered in the discussion of the introvert that emphasis was laid on the absence of emotional reactions to those problems of life which would produce normally an emotional response in a feeling type of person, and on the inadequate development of the feeling function in relation to the external world, with a corresponding replacement of action by thought. The centripetal movement of the libido produces as the first response to stimuli, thought instead of action, and therefore the feeling inhibited in relation to the object remains relatively undifferentiated and inadequate to meet the situation, and thus affects the behavior and conduct. The force of the libido is spent on the thought processes and the energy necessary for direct application to the situation is lessened.

The *emotional introvert* type presents quite another aspect as the name implies. They are essentially introverts, but it is as though in them the emotions and feelings have escaped from the domination of the thought function or have refused to be subjected to its dominion, so that they too often express themselves immediately in action and respond to contact with objects. There is no lack of emotional reactions; they are quick and responsive; and, indeed, so dominant can the emotional response become that they are often called the emotional type. The individual may appear to use the feeling function for adaptation almost exclusively, and he then exhibits a too impulsive extraversion, so that the ordinary observer could mistake him for an over-emotional extravert type.

Closer study and comparison with the quality of the feeling reactions of the extravert, however, will soon reveal a marked difference in the character of the emotional introvert. A certain lack in differentiation, a too great intensity and overemphasis, insufficient discrimination, an uncertainty in its expression, and a tendency to one extreme or another serve to distinguish its character from that of the extravert type. Further, the feeling is never steady and dependable, for it is

constantly interfered with in its relation to the object by the subject which always presses in between, and by the accompanying thought function, even though this may be quite undeveloped in any capacity for directed and logical thinking. However, he definitely uses the thought process in the way characteristic of the simple introvert and this primary division of his libido into two channels or modes of response, both active at the same time, appears to contribute to the frequent instability and indecision which characterize the emotional introvert. It is evident that he attempts to adapt to the external world through both thought and feeling, often with intuition and sensation, all four functions being active at the same time or alternating, but all subjectively conditioned. In other words, these people are outgoing part of the time and ingoing the other part, never, however, losing relation with the ego.

They are born with the necessity of adapting to two worlds, with the emphasis on the inner or subjective. For this reason it is the general fate that they are not so well adapted to the external world through the thought process as is the true introvert, who uses that function as the major and primary one; nor have they the more adequately adjusted and differentiated feeling function of the extravert type, so that the external adaptation, while it may be very good for short periods, presents at other times great inadequacies and insecurity, often quite unbearable. This uncertain and insecure connection with the external world produces a sense of being different and alien, and also plays a great part in the feeling of inferiority which is such a marked characteristic of the introverted personality and indeed of all subjective people.

All subjective types have the function of intuition strongly developed and it frequently furnishes the most direct means of adaptation. For the emotional introvert, however, the function of intuition is also directed towards the inner world and its values and, therefore, it is not generally the true guide for impressions and judgments of the external world and its objects, that it is for the subjective extravert. This is why the func-

tion of intuition is for some people their surest and most certain guide for judgment and conduct, while for others it is a snare and betrayer entirely untrustworthy. In the case of the emotional introvert, his intuitions regarding reality are so subjectively colored as to have little objective value, *resulting in distortions rather than in revelations of the object.* Therefore, the acceptance of such intuitions as a basis of judgment by these people is generally misleading and unreliable.

The emotions and feelings are in the largest degree attached to the subject and, therefore, it is the imagery born of his desires to which the individual gives himself in place of the object of tangible reality. It is always an illusion, the beautiful creation of his own mind which he loves—a dream, a symbol—not the idealization of reality itself as in the case of the subjective extravert. The object is not actually seen, but the ideal which the object does not fit. If the object can carry the symbol all is well, but when the individual's attitude changes towards the symbol, or the object itself reveals qualities, demands or needs of its own, apart from the symbol, then reality steps in; it is perceived as different from the symbol, and the spell is broken. Therefore abstract beauty is worshiped; the sensuous and emotional qualities and feelings themselves are the things adored and from these, reality—that is, the concrete actual nature of man and life, the side that is rough, physical, and harsh—is separated wholly. There is frequently a complete dissociation of the pairs of opposites, and beauty and ugliness are held apart, each mutually antagonistic; in other words, beauty contains no solution of ugliness and ugliness no solution of beauty. The intellect in these cases should be the mediating principle and, through its offices should bring some relation between the actuality and the symbol. But intellect is entirely identified with the ego and the subjectively determined wishes, therefore it is used to the largest extent by the subject in the service of its own creation. If an adaptation to external reality is won it is the stark naked bones that are dealt with, not the bones covered with the soft curving flesh.

In the subjective extravert type the psychological attitude is just the reverse. He sees the flesh with its delicate coloring, its rounded curves and beautiful texture, and refuses to take cognizance of the angular hard bones. And it must be remembered that both flesh and bones comprise reality, one as much as the other. He turns from the unpleasant aspect when it is forced upon him and in the recoil places his interest on another object where he can again forget and ignore the disagreeable. The introvert plays with his own images, projected upon the object; the extravert plays with the object itself. The degree to which this play goes on depends upon the activity of the subjective functions of feeling and intuition, and the degree to which the individual has adapted to the reality principle. Nowhere can there be found clearer evidence of the subjective conditioning of the conceptions of reality than among the two types of persons in whom the function of intuition is most active. For one, adaption to the reality—"the mind subdued to the material"—means a sad and painful process, for it is seen as inimical and contrary to desire; for the other, the relation to the object produces an eager acceptance of the reality, and only secondarily from direct experience with reality does it become painful or disturbing.

No type presents such marked external differences and distinctions as the emotional introvert and, therefore, none is so difficult clearly to define or present in any general picture which will do justice to all members of the group. They are generally most attractive, possessing a warm, sympathetic attitude and appeal, when they want to please; they are responsive to and greatly affected by their environment, and at the same time are always defending themselves against the too easy identification with their surroundings and with others. They are generally refined, artistic, and unstable; frequently moody and uncertain; highly moral on one side and as completely unmoral on the other; great sticklers for truth and candor, and yet frequently, quite unknown to themselves, incapable of actually telling the truth; often inclined to neatness and order and with a great re-

gard for detail, although many are just as disorderly. In their love relations they are possessive and jealous; the most devoted lovers, and the most supremely selfish; unable to adapt easily to the desires of others, and at other times, surrendering completely, according to what mood possesses them at the moment, and under what symbol they are functioning. All possibilities of combinations are present in them, for all psychic elements and functions are in an active state, and first one of a pair of opposites has possession of the field of the personality and then the other. This type includes what may be called the essential neurotics, as well as the most gifted and highest type of individuals. They frequently possess artistic capacities or inclinations and many artists belong to this type.

They are generally the most difficult people in their human relationships, being in perpetual conflict through the claims of the mutually antagonistic impulses; pulled first to one side and then to the other, there can never be any certainty that a decision made will be the desired one a short time later, or that a relation established will be held for any length of time. For them the world is generally a disturbed place and disturbing, because the inner instability is always projected upon the external situation.

While they may be the most impassioned of lovers, at other times they may be almost impotent, and indeed a fear of this frequently lies deep in the soul of the male members of the type. These extremes of variability can be found in one and the same person, who may pass from the most devoted love and tenderness to complete indifference and even tyranny and cruelty.

The danger for this type lies in the unbearableness of the instability and changeability, and in the necessity for finding some point of fixity and surety. In this need is always lying the possibility of self-deception, which causes so many difficulties. The individual generally suffers very much himself and causes the greatest sorrow to others, who are unable to understand the oscillations and moods which characterize his

attitude and behavior. The finer the type of person or the more idealistic, the more distressing this state of affairs becomes, so that he strives at all costs to hold himself firmly to the point or angle which seems to him to be the most desirable. He may throw himself violently into the objective world, and attempt to live entirely on that side of reality. For instance, he becomes a scientist and rigidly refuses to take account of or give consideration to anything that cannot be molded into some concrete formula; or he enters the business or political world. There he drives himself, working feverishly early and late, throwing himself into the struggle with all his energy and intensity. He attempts to live entirely on the masculine side of his nature (and this can apply equally to women), seeking in this way to overcome the lure of the backward path towards the unconscious. However, his efforts partake of the nature of a compulsive reaction; he is not really at home or at ease in the completely objective adaptation he is attempting, and this produces a sense of inferiority which must be escaped from at all costs. Therefore, he can become very egotistic, overbearing and dominating in his attitude towards others. Sometimes this is manifested only towards inferiors or servants, but in other cases it completely envelops the personality, so that it surrounds him like an aura. This attitude always denotes an overcompensation whereby the individual is attempting to escape from quite the opposite condition, namely, the other side of his nature.

When such a person loves, the elevation and the endowment of his beloved with the rarest qualities—the result of the idealism which is so marked a characteristic of the type we are discussing—last but a brief period, for the ego or "masculine protest" will not allow him to make such a complete surrender to his love as is the case in persons less fixated on the ego inferiority and the winning of power. These are the people who after marriage early come into conflict, for the revolt against the power of love soon appears, and the effort at the domination of the love object as a symbol of reality begins. If

the partner surrenders by accepting the inferior rôle and becoming dominated through love, then the valuation is withdrawn, and the love is lessened or taken away; for the object which is now conquered is perceived to be no longer the symbol of the ideal, and it must retain this symbol to be of any value.

For the woman of this type the problem is not quite so severe as for the man; that is, as far as the conscious and objective behavior is concerned. She has been taught for centuries that her place in relation to man lies in the inferior rôle and that her highest achievement is to possess those qualities of feeling known as sympathy, tenderness, understanding, self-sacrifice, charity, and devotion. Therefore, she is much more consciously and directly identified with the love aspect than is the masculine representative of the type, even though actually the ego may be psychologically as well defined as in the man. Women of this type may adapt entirely through feeling with relatively no development of the thought function. These are the women who definitely use their love and feeling in the service of power and, equally with the men, are only happy in the pursuit and conquest, but have no direct interest in the object itself once it is attained, except as a means of contributing to the power of the subject.

While writing these lines I received a letter, which so well illustrates the mechanism under discussion, that I shall quote from it. It is written by a young woman, who for years has suffered from a very severe neurosis, but who is now making sincere efforts to understand what this has meant to her and to find a better way of living. She writes:

> I don't in the least seem to know what I am doing, except that I feel sick all over. There is one peculiar thing which seems to keep me tied and bound to my illness. I spend my days and much of my nights trying to understand it, as it is constantly making me ill, and I see that I transfer it on to first one person and then another. You will remember that I used to have it come up with "A" when

in some way he resisted me or failed to consider me. First there would begin a terrific straining in my whole body which was really agony. Then I would pretend to faint or have different kinds of nervous attacks. This would scare "A" and he, to quiet me, would then pet me and soothe me, and in a kind of sickish way I would come out of this strange kind of spasm. However, after awhile "A" became so accustomed to these spasms that he remained like a stone image quite indifferent to me. Then I would go into another room and suffer torture by myself. The straining inside of me would seem to almost rack my soul. Then when I could no longer stand the agony of this straining and overpowering, which would seem to destroy me, I would sacrifice my pride, and go back to "A" and beg him to speak to me and to pet me.

With different people whom I care about or who seem to care about me this always seems to happen. Now I have transferred it to "B." He will pay me a great deal of attention for a week or so, and then he will neglect to call me up on the 'phone or communicate with me for apparently no reason, and then this straining and illness will begin and it seems as though I would go mad if he did not call me. I get so ill I cannot eat and each day adds to the torture and depression and sort of starving despair so that it seems as though I could not live. I cannot go to him and ask him what is the matter as I did to "A" and humiliate myself to him. This whole week has been a living hell. I have tried in every way to understand what I am doing but it seems something shuts down and I am left fluid and helpless.

I remember when I was a little girl at school this happened again and again; and I became so ill that my family had to take me out of school and it seemed as though I was losing my mind. Again in the mountains I had it happen with a group of girls at the same hotel where I stayed. They did not speak to me and I never knew why or what I had done. So it happened at other times in my life always under the same circumstances. I do not have this difficulty with "A" any more now, only with other people with whom I establish a personal relationship as with "B."

All this I do not understand but I am sure it is the core of my illness and what is keeping me ill. I am almost afraid to have any friends any more. I am willing to do anything to help myself if only I could just understand.

This letter reveals very clearly and unmistakably the craving of the ego on which is based the "will to power" mechanism. This patient although married and the mother of children is an exceedingly undeveloped and childish personality. She has no intellectual or other actual achievement which could give the ego any legitimate enhancement; she belongs to the emotional introvert type and she has used intuition and the feeling function exclusively for adaptation. Her ego inferiority is so great that she is entirely dependent upon others to give her any sense of her own value. When a slight of any kind, either fancied or real, is received, instead of reacting in an irritable or defensive manner as is commonly the case, she falls into the distressing condition she describes in her letter in order to win by her weakness the attention and consideration she needs. The winning of power through weakness is a very definite process, much indulged in by those persons who have attained no organization of the ego and whose sole mode of adaptation is through feeling. As can be seen this mechanism is quite unconscious to the subject, and she has no idea that she knows nothing of love for its own sake, or that her feelings are entirely an appendage of her ego function. The writer of the letter is not the frivolous person that might be inferred, but sincerely desires to overcome her weakness and unhappiness.

This prostitution of love and the creative capacity in the service of the ego and power is one of the most frequent sources of the neuroses. The progressive growth and development of the personality is thereby hindered and the libido that belongs to this purpose falls into the side path of the disease. Thus a substitute is created; evidence of a need which has failed of its goal.

In the Don Juan character we see the male who is identified with the feminine symbol which he uses for power in the same way as the woman does. Always, however, it must be remembered that love itself demands satisfaction as well as the ego. Therefore, there is the double motive in the continuous seeking

for the love object. In every attractive personality he thinks he has found the beloved. A short tarry, however, soon reveals that this is not she, and again he wanders forth to renew the quest, driven by the longing within his own unconscious, symbolized by the image of the mother. It is of this type Oscar Wilde speaks when he says, "each man kills the thing he loves." It is only the individual torn between the two elementary forces of love and power expressed through the ego, and inadequate in the management of both, who attempts to kill his love, thereby announcing his need to develop a maturity which will permit him to function in an adequate manner in the actual world, and to satisfy his craving for the fulfilment of his capacities.

In this type lie clearly revealed all tendencies and possibilities and, as the nature is dualistic and bisexual, the individual may be expected to possess a definite tendency towards homosexuality. Freud has truly said that this tendency of the libido is latent in every one and exists as a possibility; under certain conditions the libido sexualis may disregard the sex of its object, even though this situation may never be realized consciously. This is not strange or obscure when one remembers the course of development of the child, beginning with the completely autoerotic phase leading through the narcissistic stage on its way to the goal of object seeking. An inadequate development of this infantile stage, or a later regression to it by the adult, can manifest itself by the expression of an attraction towards one of the same sex which, whether objectively expressed or ideally felt, may be nothing more or less than a fixation upon himself as object. The subject is really in love with himself (narcissism) and this love is projected upon a person of the same sex, who externalizes the problem.

However, in the type of person under discussion the matter is not so simple for, instead of the unisexual problem expressed by Freud under the symbol of the so-called Œdipus complex, he can combine both homosexual and heterosexual tendencies in

his personality, alternately playing first one rôle and then the other according to whether he is identified with the masculine or the feminine aspect.

The extreme importance of the bisexual types as a symbol of our time, both as an illustration of the general psychological condition confronting us, and as an indication of the prospective direction of the developmental lines of humanity, induces me to enter into the greatest detail regarding the psychology and mechanisms of these persons. In order to present the matter as clearly as possible, I shall have recourse to a diagram which I use to represent the totality of the individual and by means of which I can indicate the variations of individual development according to functioning. Before presenting it, I shall show how and in what manner I arrived at the idea.

In dealing with my practical work, and studying the varied personalities and their different reactions to similar situations, I soon saw that there were two marked attitudes or definite unconscious symbols under which the individual made his adaptation or his effort to adapt to the objective world. The symbols were in the first instance those of father and mother, or of one or other alternately. Now this need not be the actual father or mother at all; indeed the identification is just as definite even if the individual *has never known an actual father or mother of his own.* It *is a symbol* and in this lies its real meaning and importance.

The images of father and mother have a value and significance quite apart from any actual reality in the life of the individual. However, the symbol can be, and very frequently is, attached to the actual father and mother. It is upon them that the conflict is projected when the young individual is attempting to leave the child phase behind to become adult and thus win for himself the father or mother phase, which signifies biological maturity. Further, identification with these symbols takes place often quite regardless of the sex of the individual. For instance, a man may make an identi-

fication with the mother symbol instead of the father, just as a woman may make an identification with the father instead of the mother, and indeed in the types we are now discussing this play with first one and then the other is quite the common thing.

Through the analysis of very many cases it became quite evident that the father symbol, *i.e.*, the adult masculine principle, stands most definitely in the unconscious for the demand of reality, quite regardless of any actual situation or conscious experience or thought. It represents the call to face the world, and to take one's place in the outer life of effort and action. In phantasy it stands for the dominant, aggressive factor, since the father earns the living and provides the home. It is the symbol of power, of domination and authority, of practical life in the world, and signifies the individual and ego side of the personality.

The mother on the other hand, *i.e.*, the adult feminine principle, is the typical symbol of love, of understanding, of solicitude, of compassion and tenderness regardless of the actual experience which may be just the opposite. She is the mediator between the child and the world, or the father; the original source out of which altruism has sprung. She is the one who softens the asperities of life, on whom the child can depend and rely in need, and she symbolizes the conserving, protecting, collective and feeling side of human personality. This is the collective and subjective aspect of these symbols which may or may not represent the objective experience.

Following this train of thought and having regard to the actual physical processes, namely, the union of the Father and Mother, a third symbol is produced—the Child. Now this child may be son or daughter, or both. Therefore, in order to represent the entire individual we use the complete family. The child is the subjective or unconscious aspect; the parents are the symbol of the objective, external aspect, the outer world. Thus, we arrive at the four symbols under which all humanity functions, and these figures symbolically represent the actual

aspects of the personality in its development, the four phases through which all humanity normally passes. What is special is the peculiar relation of the four in an adult individual.

Life is first begun as a child, with the father and mother phase latent as a possibility, and asserting itself in the child's phantasy as a wish (the wish to be grown up, to take the parent's place, to be like them; although some children resist growing up and only desire to remain the child). With physical maturity the child gradually passes into the father or mother phase in relation to objective reality, and the child aspect of the psychology recedes into the unconscious where it exists in more or less active participation in the life of the adult. If the repressive mechanism, whereby the psychic transformation from the original child state to that of the cultured adult attitude of the time is largely effected, has been relatively successful, then the childish qualities may be little evident. However, in most people this aspect reveals itself in some form or other, showing that this phase is not lost. This frequently occurs at times when it plays a most unfortunate part in the attitude and decisions of the individual. From this standpoint, I consider the adequate adult attitude to be *objectively determined,* and that attitude which is inadequate to meet actual life as it exists to be *subjectively determined,* although, of course, I fully admit that all thought and conduct is in the last analysis subjectively determined.

The difficulty of understanding this lies largely in the assumption that because the child grows in his physical body into the adult, becomes the actual parent, if you please, he has also entirely outgrown his child nature in the psychical realm, or that in any case he should have entirely done so—otherwise he is pathological, or at least has failed in his proper development.

This is definitely Freud's thesis and, therefore, this enables him to say that if the human being made a complete reality adaptation, that is, became perfectly normal, according to his conception of normal, art and artistic creations would cease to exist. This is entirely logical because then the creative impulse

would be solely engaged in reproduction, the biological creative activity of animals.

And now what is the significance of the child symbol? I have defined the parent symbol as possessing that collective significance which belongs to actual reality adaptation. As the child is much more undifferentiated sexually than the parent, we can speak of it collectively as the child, rather than as son or daughter. Perhaps, the most definite distinction between the psyche of the child and that of the adult lies in its possession of the irrational and imaginative qualities which dominate the child's world. He has not made the great separation between the reality of the external world and his subjective ideas and thoughts about it; therefore, to him the dream world of his phantasy is quite as real as the concrete fact which we call reality. His world is one in which instinct, impulse, wish, and desire rule, and to bring him to a recognition of the necessity of distinguishing between the actual demands of the real world and his own wish impulses is one of the chief aims of education. Thus we use the symbol of the child to represent the irrational, the imaginative and play impulse, the phantasy-creating and primitive aspect of the personality. Dependency, playfulness, uncertainty, simplicity, artlessness, mischievousness, boastfulness, unreasonableness, all belong to the concept of child, and we place this symbol in the subjective realm or that belonging to the unconscious, in contrast to the parent symbol which belongs to the external, conscious adaptation to the world. With this explanation in mind I can now show on the following page the simple diagram that I use to portray the psychological drama of the various types of individuals.

The diagram represents the bisexual types. When all functions are in flux and, therefore, all character traits are active, the symbols belonging to and characteristic of each quadrant will appear in dream and phantasy.

By this diagram, the individual may be mapped out, according to the most obvious conscious adaptation presented, *i.e.*, the major aspect of the personality, called by Jung the persona.

In some persons, generally those who approach outwardly the most objective attitude, the entire psychic capacities appear to be occupied with the strictly biological processes and the data of sense; so that as far as the conscious attitude of the person is concerned nothing in it appears subjective. With others just the opposite occurs, in which case we have com-

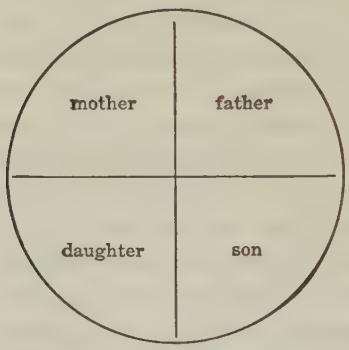


Diagram of the symbols under which all individuals actually function.

pletely unadapted persons with a quite inadequate objectivity, but who are not necessarily neurotic. I cite such a case later.[1] Between these are all the normal subjective types who present all functional aspects in differing degrees of attainment, for unless the components which I place under the symbol son or daughter and call unadapted achieve a life and development of their own, that is, a super-biological attainment, these elements of the personality are detrimental and interfere with the best interests of the life. The highest type of individual would be one in which all these components were present but fused into an integrated whole—a new state of being, or an individuated self.

As the emotional introvert is the most clearly marked and completely active member of the group, I will describe the typical psychic drama which is enacted in him. The child begins life as son or daughter possessing the characteristics of

[1] Pp. 252-256.

the child psyche. Frequently, in early youth he will reveal marked characteristics which are popularly supposed to belong to the opposite sex. If it is a boy who shows girlish traits then will begin the effort to identify himself with the masculine aspect with varying success. Usually he possesses very great sensitivity about the knowledge that he has certain feminine tendencies, and makes a strong conscious endeavor to overcome this drawback. To this end he frequently begins that over-masculinizing of himself as the compensatory effort at neutralization of the stigma. This is why so many of this type appear to be even more masculine than the ordinary normal masculine individual. The effort leads to an accentuation of the ego, that is, of the masculine principle, and produces a markedly egotistic and over-dominating personality which can readily be recognized as an over-compensation for a corresponding inferiority and uncertainty in the actual psyche. The purely feminine qualities in the child are feeling, intuition, and imagination; these give insecurity, timidity, sensitivity, irrationality, and charm, all quite inadequate qualities with which to cope with the world. Therefore, for the man, these are great drawbacks to be overcome. Having this strong tendency toward the unconscious and the subjective aspect, it is more difficult for this type of person to turn from his phantasies and the idealized world of his own wish and creation, and to enter the hard, impersonal world of struggle and conflict. He finds adaptation a painful and difficult process and remains, therefore, largely the child in the psyche. This situation, however, is unbearable, on account of his ego, which must find some means of satisfaction, and thereupon begins the painful struggle to overcome the subjective direction of the libido, in order to ascend to the reality symbol in the external world, the father. This achievement for these types, however, is rarely a real adaptation through an actual winning of the father attitude, but is rather an identification with the father rôle through a thought process which is substituted for the actual being. Therefore, the purely masculine qualities of power, domina-

tion, and authority cannot be maintained in the psyche because the subject does not actually possess them and the individual soon falls down again to his relatively unadapted and unmanageable feelings connected with the subjective realm, wherein lie inferiority, uncertainty, insecurity, and change.

When the individual is functioning under the feminine symbol, whether identified with the mother or with the child rôle —in other words, with the objective or subjective realm—he is then attracted towards the male under the symbol of son or father. Likewise when he is identified with his own sex as determined by his physical organism, he then is normally attracted to the feminine sex under the symbol of daughter or mother, depending again upon whether he is identified with father or son symbol. This latter aspect is the typical Œdipus complex of Freud. In other words, in these bisexual types, both heterosexuality and homosexuality exist more or less normally in the same person, although one or the other phase may be repressed so completely as to give very slight or no clear objective evidence of its existence. For the woman the same mechanism is present only in the reverse direction.

The mother is the important love object for all subjective types, but it must be remembered that when these individuals are identified with the subjective aspect under the symbol of the child, actually the desire towards the mother is not concretely sexual in the sense of adult sexuality, but must be understood from the subjective, or rather the symbolic standpoint, that is, as a desire to return to the state of being inside, protected and enfolded, the *condition of original oneness*. This cannot be understood as incest, but rather a going back to the presexual stage which has never been renounced.

The progressive element in man, the evolutionary principle, urges him onward; therefore if he is a developing being, he cannot be content for long to rest in peace and inactivity, because a very real necessity for adapting and dealing with objective life exists. Hence, should this desired state of peace, this union with the past, be obtained, there begins the reaction

away from the love object as personified in the actual human being, for his love is really the love of the child for his mother; his comfort and satisfaction in that love is the comfort of the child shielded and protected from the harshness of life; but only a freely given love can really satisfy an adult. Very frequently therefore the loved person, who but a short time ago was the perfect being, is subjected to criticism and becomes the symbol of evil. This projection arises because of the need to separate himself from the domination of his own weakness, and because of the unbearable irritation induced by his own bondage. Further, a moral person is forced to justify the obvious changeableness and the instability of his feelings; therefore the faultiness or evil in the beloved object which before he failed to see now becomes visible. His revolt is caused by the urge in his own nature which recognizes his danger of succumbing to the power of the unconscious under the symbol of the mother, the original love object.[1] Consequently there arises the revolt of the ego, the masculine protest (Adler) which seeks to strike down the loved one in order to free himself from the bondage in which his love holds him. During this time he is identified with the father symbol and is in his characteristic way fighting and struggling towards the winning of masculine reality. The struggle for power and the overthrow of all that stands in his path mark this phase of the psychic mechanism, for his supremacy must be won at all cost, and the drive is so great that ruthlessness and the trampling on those things once held dear frequently bear witness to the intensity of the struggle. This peculiar mechanism which we call "will to power" is the particular characteristic of the introvert's psychology and is determined by the strong backward movement of the libido. This in itself, as described before, is the great difficulty to be overcome in order to meet adequately the external world.

By the time the period of revolt has reached its climax, the individual has definitely separated himself from the feminine

[1] Jung: *Psychology of the Unconscious.*

component, the love element, and, through the identification of himself with the father image, has reached his desired goal, the final overthrow of the love object (the mother) who has been the symbol of the enemy holding power over him (the Terrible Mother, Jung). He now turns again to find the love element, but this time where he can most easily remain in possession of the power gained, and that is in finding the object under the symbol of the daughter. This is the easy downward looking love where the strain is least, and where he can most easily permit, unhampered by protest from his ego, the expression of his love, for the object is, from the standpoint of the ego or masculine aspect, inferior to himself. With the coming of the love feeling there also comes an element of the mother identification, for this type of person can express himself in the most protecting, considerate and chivalrous fashion, all of which can also serve to enhance his power mechanism.

With the gradual full expression of his feelings however, his energy becomes exhausted in this play and there is brought up again the undeveloped component of the personality, the child soul, which lies in the unconscious and is symbolized in the longing for the love and tenderness found in the arms of the mother. This may be resisted for a longer or shorter period depending upon the rigidity and strength of the identification with the father symbol, but it is a great strain to maintain this attitude for any length of time, without the sacrifice of the greatest value of the personality. For the elements of the subjective and feminine aspect of the nature are not destroyed or rendered non-existent by this psychic mechanism; they are only repressed into the unconscious and, therefore normally will surely emerge again. The possibilities of development are quite bound up with just this mobility and capacity for change of the organism, qualities which are at one and the same time the cause of his greatest difficulty and pain. Only an organism which is not rigid and fixed can evolve and grow, and this type of personality which possesses all elements in movement and activity is one in which, theoretically, further individual devel-

opment and integration on a higher level—the goal of individuation—is the real demand, and must be won if any stable satisfaction is gained.

This distinction is so marked and so important in its practical bearings for the further development of the personality, and at the same time so exceedingly difficult to make clear, that I shall give an illustration of this kind of a mechanism.

The case is that of a man, about thirty-four years of age, married and with three children. He has suffered from boyhood from a neurotic condition manifested in various hypochondriacal states, with physical symptoms of divers kinds, including gastric disorders and eye and ear disturbances. He is also markedly diffident, sensitive, easily embarrassed, and lacking in virility. In appearance he is well developed, tall, of the student type, refined, cultured, with those innate attributes which make the picture we call a gentleman. His greatest difficulty is in making a male adaptation to the external world, or in living the father symbol, as we might say. In his professional life and business career he is in a state of greatest conflict and resistance; he finds the problem of meeting his duties an almost insuperable task. He feels himself inadequate and inferior, and struggles under a demand with which he seems entirely unable to cope. He has frequent nervous breakdowns, which assume the form of panic and fears and from which, with the greatest effort, he picks himself up and struggles on again. I shall quote his own words.

"My mental and physical general characteristics are timidity, sense of inferiority, lack of self-confidence, and mental deadlock, by which I mean this: When I am confronted with a piece of work requiring initiative and resolution I feel unable to concentrate or to get into the problem at all. There seems to be a perfect insulation between my mind and the job. I feel like an invalid watching life go by, unable to join in it or to stir, yet under a compelling necessity to do so. The result is quickly a feeling of impotence in which I fumble helplessly with the problem while time passes. I feel despicable, lazy, and yet unable to wake up and brush aside the simplest obstacles. Trying to work in this way I miss the most obvious considerations. There grows during this period of deadlock the most painful feeling of despair and loneliness, often suggesting thoughts of suicide as a means of escape from the mental pain and

from the contempt of others which must result from not doing my job. This leads to a most acute self-consciousness, to thinking that other people are talking about me, that office boys and stenographers are disdainful, that partners are disgusted, friends disappointed, etc.

"If I have to discuss scientific points with others, because of the obstacles between my mind and the object, or inability to keep the attention fixed on the object, I lose my thread, and then get a sinking feeling of dread and dismay so that my thoughts do not reach the object or come freely; they seem to be in my ego—an absorption in myself and what is going to happen to me. In fact, I find it impossible to give attention to the job or the discussion because I feel something impending, an apprehension as to myself that shoves away any other interest. If I get some little job without much responsibility, especially if it involves physical action and shows some result *immediately,* I have a feeling of delicious liberation. This blocked condition is very acute with regard to my professional work; I have this feeling of dread and dismay to a considerable extent on awakening in the morning with the dread of another day."

This statement of his feeling portrays unmistakably the psychic condition, which is the result of the psychological situation. As might be expected, he had difficulties in his domestic life equal to those of his professional career, for such a condition of mind does not improve under the responsibility of wife and children who look to him for support, protection, and strength.

The personal history of this man is as follows:

As a child he was sensitive, shy, and diffident. He found it difficult to meet and mingle with children of his own age and had occasional outbursts of violent temper, when his desire was to smash things generally. When brought to school he learned rapidly and generally stood at the head of his class. When about ten years old he moved to a new environment and new school. Here he was unhappy because of the hazing and rough treatment of the boys, to which it was difficult for him to adapt. Later he went to another school where the boys were generally beneath him socially and of

simpler lives, and here he got on better. He always found great difficulty when his family desired him to associate with wealthy boys, or those in a social class equal to his own. With them he was uncomfortable and unhappy.

He was his mother's favorite of her three children. His father was absent from home much of the time, and he remembers him as a formidable person who talked loudly and often stormed in a dominating way. His mother was gentle and quiet; and he remembers at an early age (three or four years) the feeling of jealousy, fear, and dislike of his father. When his father was home he was put away from his mother with whom as a little child he usually slept while the father was absent.

Of sexuality, as a youth, he had practically no knowledge and no experience, and cannot remember very much regarding this subject. He thought very little about things in general and did very little speculation. He commenced to masturbate about the age of twelve. He found this out for himself, and never discussed the subject but once in his life with another boy in a quite indirect way. This was his first intimation that any other boy could be as "bad" as he was. This conduct was entirely solitary; he appears to have had no conversation with other boys on sexual matters whatsoever. He had no ideas regarding the relation of the sexes, or of child birth until after sixteen years of age, perhaps older, and then things gradually came to him piecemeal. He first left home when he went to college, between sixteen and seventeen years of age. Here he had a very difficult time; he was unable to adjust to the boys and felt himself alien and entirely alone. He had to accept the situation and do well because of his father, who was a masterful, dominating personality, of whom he was afraid. He was always able to get on with girls much better than with boys, and from the age of thirteen years he always had some girl companion instead of a boy, although in none of these affairs was there any sexual activity. He was singularly unthinking and unquestioning, with very little knowledge of other boys, or understanding of what went on in the minds of others. His father affected him only as a superior person, who was in control of him, and whom he had to obey, but desired to avoid as much as possible. His love was given to his mother. Neither parent ever discussed with him any intimate matters at any time that he can remember.

His marriage took place at twenty-four years of age, and the initiative was taken by the wife, who planned and carried through the entire affair. He was passively happy and excited in the beginning of the engagement, but as the time for the marriage approached he became increasingly anxious and panic-stricken. As a reaction against it and hoping unconsciously to break it off, he confessed to his fiancée a long story of his unworthiness and inferiority, all of which he attributed to his habit of masturbation. This confession relieved him somewhat for the time, in that now he had no secret burden of guilt to carry, but it did not in any way make the prospect of the new adaptation and its responsibilities any easier to accept, and it was only through the girl's capable and confident personality that the marriage was finally consummated.

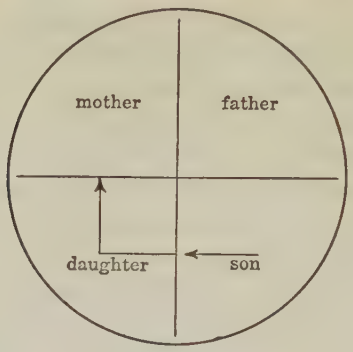
As might have been expected, his sexual life was inadequate and unsatisfactory and, gradually through the years, the domestic situation became increasingly difficult. Whenever anything was expected of him, or any new adaptation was required, he invariably reacted in the same inadequate and painful way as before, usually talking of suicide as the only way out for him. He was painfully aware of his weakness and cowardice, as he called it, but was powerless to remedy it. During practically the entire period of his marriage he was under the care of various specialists for the numerous physical symptoms from which he suffered. This was the situation with alternating periods of improvement and relapse, until a complete collapse occurred nine months previous to his coming under my care.

In the picture created by the recital of this man's inner feelings and outer reactions and behavior, there is no evidence of the masculine tendencies as we are accustomed to consider them, and the whole impression made is quite clearly that of an effort to *play* the man, a rôle which in no way suits his nature or psychology. But think of a girl and the feminine psychology, and it will at once be seen that if this finely organized, sensitive, shy boy had been a girl we would not consider his conduct and reactions so inadequate and inferior. It is the necessity to deal with the outer world in a male fashion, due to the possession of the masculine physical organism, that

causes the incongruity. In other words, the trouble lies in the fact that this man is unconsciously identified with the feminine side of his organism, instead of the masculine, and he fails in his adaptation because the child attitudes still dominate him. The symbol of reality which belongs to the father, for the son, and which is the normal rôle for him to fill, because through it he is led to the conquering of the outer world, was placed upon the mother.

Towards the father he is weak and inferior, and turns away in fear, seeing in him only a superior force which he must obey instead of conquer. Translate father in terms of the symbolism here used and it means the demand for him to win reality, power, authority, the masculine function. Therefore, when he tries to take his place in the world and to meet it and deal with it as reality demands of the adult male, he behaves exactly as he did as a little boy before his actual father, and bestows the same dislike and fear upon the world which he felt as a child. In other words, in all his dealings with men and the world of business affairs he sees only the father with whom he is utterly unable to cope.[1] His identification was made with the mother who was the unconscious model for his development. His mother was a non-aggressive type, gentle in her manner and non-combative; therefore, instead of entering upon the struggle and conflict to overcome the father which is the typical male attitude, he simply submits or turns away in a clearly feminine manner. He could marry, even though with difficulty when the idea of male responsibility arose, because with girls and women he had a common bond of understanding, and he was only exchanging one mother for another. It was when the woman became a wife and expected him to assume his masculine rôle in the family that the conflict and domestic difficulty began. According to our diagram his psychology would work out thus:

[1] This is the situation for which Freud uses the term "castration complex" and refers the difficulty to this fear.



He started physical life as the son, but his psychical attributes carried him over to the daughter rôle, and his growth and adulthood occurred under the feminine symbol. Of course, all this was quite unrealized by him, for actually he was both husband and father. His marriage was with a woman who combined with her definite feminine character certain so-called masculine attributes, which normally belong to the extravert type of woman who has successfully come into an adult attitude to life; therefore, she could handle the difficulties connected with the marriage and bring it to a conclusion while he played the feminine rôle which we usually connect with the reluctant girl. On account of his difficulty in bringing his libido to deal with objective reality, he remained, as far as his feelings were concerned, deeply in the subjective realm, although his intellectual attitude was rationalistic and concretistic in the strongest degree. But his life and behavior did not tally with his thought processes, which represented his adult masculine component.

Because of his close relation with his mother, and his fear and hatred of his father as the enemy who would separate him from the mother, Freud would call his the typical incest problem, and refer all the difficulties to the incest wish which was repressed. But this situation should not be so judged, for such an interpretation results in nothing of value for the patient. If he had been identified with the father, and his development

made under this symbol, then one might say that, since a part of the father's privilege and life is the relation with the mother, he too must desire a relation with the mother in order to complete the identification with the father, and so fulfil his entire destiny under the parent complex.

But for this man the dominating personality of the father was overwhelming; from every situation in which it is incumbent upon him to act responsibly and as an adult, he recoils and acts the part of the inferior child. He cannot put himself on a plane of equality with the father, and all things which demand an adult masculine attitude and aggressive handling are identified with the father. Therefore, his love also remains in the childish bondage to the original object, the mother, in the pre-sexual stage; for active masculine sexuality means also an objective reality and an aggressive attitude. The inhibition which was manifested in his domestic sexual relations was only to be expected from this attitude, for he could not play the masculine rôle in any way.

Such alternations of rôle are frequently seen in the psychological type we are discussing, but the individual generally passes from the passive feminine attitude over to the father symbol for a brief period, and then evinces a quite masculine adaptation in relation to the world as well as in his sexual life. This is the most common mechanism found in these bisexual types.

In the case just presented no definite homosexual tendency was exhibited, but a certain mild ideal relation to other youths of his own type was recognized by himself to have a tinge of this character.

If this man had lived under other conditions and no pressure had been exerted on him by his father in the first instance, or through the responsibilites he assumed in the second, he would have probably avoided falling into the extreme neurosis which he developed; but then, in spite of his good intellect he would have remained completely ineffectual, with probably a highly egotistic compensation for his weakness, and a very marked

"will to power" mechanism. Through his neurosis he was entirely identified with the negative aspect of the personality and in closest relation with the painful inferiority feelings which inhibited all his efforts and rendered his condition quite unbearable.

These actual cases present the mechanisms and type-characteristics so much more clearly than any description can do, that I shall proceed to cite another, which presents the psychic duality and androgynous character more aggressively expressed and, by way of comparison with the foregoing, will show the complexity of these types and the necessity of working out the specific symbolic mechanism dominating each personality.

This case, a man thirty-three years of age, unmarried, is a scientist whose work is entirely concerned with research and the laboratory. He came to me because the difficulties of his personality, which have been marked since boyhood, have increased to such a degree that he is now quite unable to carry on his work and, although he has been attempting to treat himself on physiological lines, he finds himself in such a painful state in relation to the outside world and its activities, that he cannot go on. I shall give the description of his condition in his own words:

"I am suffering from deep depression, inability to adjust to my work, irritability, confusion of ideas, compulsive acts, early fatigue, fear of undertaking any new duties, fear of and at the same time an impossibility of accepting the superiority of one higher in rank or position than myself, fear of responsibility with acute fear of the practical side of my work."

He does not want to assume the slightest responsibility, at the same time he resents following orders and allows others to do his work for him. He lives alone, and is depressed and unnerved at the end of each day.

These acute symptoms are the outcome of a progressive development of many months, when finally the patient lost completely all orientation to his work and responsibilities, and asked to be relieved, through the advice of a physician.

The patient appears rather well set up, of a stocky build, some-

what under medium height, well nourished in body, rather feminine in figure. He has an easy, affable address.

The personal and family history are as follows: The family consisted of father, mother, and three children, of whom the patient was the oldest. The mother was the active manager of the household, and was more aggressive and met the world generally in a way superior to that of the father. He was in a very close tender relation to the mother. He appears to have had little affection or relationship with his younger brother and sister. Very early he showed a dislike of authority and a marked disinclination to do what others wanted. He followed his own way in practically everything he did, and always desired to be the leader among his companions. In his early school years he was very bright and showed a strong desire for knowledge. Later he had much difficulty with his work, finding it hard to study or concentrate his attention on the subject in hand. As a child about nine years the real conflict began. The antipathy which he early evinced towards his father turned into jealousy in regard to his mother. He writes:

"I had less and less to do with him, although I had to have everything he had. He was quite religious although unostentatious about it; I became religious and took myself very seriously in this respect. (This was the initial effort to identify with the father, the normal masculine attitude.) As I grew older, I became more and more solitary, shunned adults and, of course, my father most of all. I began to look upon him in a very personal light; we could not get on together, and both recognized it. I remember going in swimming with him, and can recall quite clearly a feeling of disgust and loathing at seeing his naked body. Gradually a feeling of contempt and disregard developed, so that I became antagonistic to everything my father represented. I turned violently away from religion, and later, in my early college days, I professed to be desirous of some day writing a book that *'will kill religion.'* I came upon some temperance tracts which my father, who was a great temperance advocate, possessed, and then and there I resolved to learn to drink as soon as I got to college. About this time, I first became aware of a strong desire to be a girl. I saw some of my mother's underwear and persuaded my brother to steal one of the articles and put it on. Next, I got the necessary courage to do it myself. After this the desire to wear feminine underclothing became an obsession and

I always had some article about me. Of course, I felt the inferiority of this compulsion and, therefore, tried to resist it, but later yielded to it more and more, carefully concealing this tendency from every one. At about fourteen years I learned masturbation, and thought this a wonderful discovery. It signified knowledge, enlightenment, and I thought of it as something with which to thrill over the wonders of nature. With this discovery, however, together with my desire to wear woman's clothes, I became more and more solitary and moody. These tendencies became even stronger and more defined after I got to college. With girls I was shy, and generally they caused a marked disgust. The entire four years spent in college were uniformly negative during which sexual depravity of mind was the chief factor. I soon got drunk and, although I got on fairly well with the men in class and fraternity and put up a bluff at mixing, I never made real friends. I was moody, apathetic and often depressed, and in this condition learned to take morphine and cocaine. My college course was a bitter disappointment to me, for I had always wanted to learn, and now study was difficult and uninteresting. I objected to and disapproved of my professors, and assumed a superior and critical attitude. I was drunk the day I received my diploma. It may seem difficult to believe, but this kind of a person which my conduct portrays did not seem to be really me. I lived in ideals of what a real person should be and what I should some day achieve. Women were idealized in terms of God-like perfection quite unattainable in life. I had the motto, 'Always regard the opposite sex as one regards his mother,' but this was not lived up to in reality. My strongest wish was to be a woman myself and then married to a woman when sex would not be a crime."

After leaving college he entered his father's business because there seemed nothing else to do, but he soon found this impossible and he persuaded his father to send him to a scientific school. "I started with some enthusiasm, but soon found myself in difficulties, and the following years I went through the same history of thwarted and misspent effort, with morbid and neurotic symptoms. Spasmodically I did good work, but I was really not awake. I was left severely alone by my superiors, and although my mind was supposed to be acute and with scientific sense well developed, my work was ragged and was more of the mental gymnastic type."

The tendency to dress in woman's clothes now grew more pronounced, and although he had had several affairs of a sexual character with girls, his chief pleasure came from autoerotic practices which were enhanced by the feminine attire. At this time he met a homosexual man, and this experience was now added to his other exploits. The relation was continued for something over a year and in it, as in sexual relations generally, the patient occupied the masculine aggressive rôle instead of the feminine one which his psychological attitude might lead one to expect.

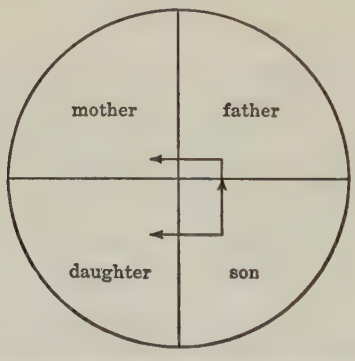
His work in the laboratory brought him into association with women and this produced more and more conflict with the feminine environment as well as with his superiors. After several years he began to lose faith in himself, his neurosis grew more acute, and he finally was forced to ask for sick leave.

This was the condition when he appeared at my office.

From the picture here portrayed, it would seem that there was little in the way of vice that he escaped, and it is difficult to realize that in spite of his abnormal tastes and experiences he was not a degenerate, and that his aspirations and desires were as sincere and genuine as those of many a man whose outer life is all that morality and propriety could ask. I have purposely given this case because, as the extremely pathological condition dated from childhood, the conflict and mechanism of the opposing factors making up the personality are very clearly seen. This man is a definite bisexual type who has been quite unable to make any kind of adjustment and, in the complexity of the struggle between the different elements of his psychic organism, there are revealed the characteristics which I have shown to be the dominants of the type.

We can also contrast the reactions and conduct of this man with those of the previous case cited. They both have one thing in common, difficulty in dealing with the outer world, or, as we might say, in functioning under the father symbol. But there the similarity ceases, for this man is not passive and feminine in his reactions but definitely aggressive and masculine with a strongly developed ego. The markedly egotistic

and superior attitude which he assumes is an effort at over-compensation for his inadequacies, and covers the great inferiority which his failures and shortcomings have deepened and enhanced. His lack on the feeling or feminine side of his nature is equally marked, although his ideal is to be a woman for she symbolizes all the attributes and possibilities most to be desired, but he is unable to get further than the donning of woman's attire. This latter action illustrates very well the type of mind which he has developed, its concretistic and materialistic character, by which he is forced to express in reality his symbolic wishes. The symbols dominating this personality can be diagrammed thus:



The masculine principle (father) was reacted to negatively, producing dissipation, antagonism, destruction instead of construction, the positive identification being made with the feminine elements, but with attributes belonging to all four symbols appearing periodically.

From a comparison with the normal masculine development it is easily seen where this boy went off the track and what have been the conflicting elements producing the extreme reactions of his conduct and behavior. He was born in the masculine quadrant, the son, whose normal development should have been made under the father quadrant symbolizing power, aggressiveness, and adaptation. But in this case the mother represented these qualities in a far greater degree than the father, so the father was despised and treated with scorn as one not worth considering and only to be thrown aside, not as

some one to be overcome and from whom the power could be won. This placed the double symbol on the head of the mother; she was the symbol of love and altruism, the tenderly loved object of adoration and at the same time the symbol of power and adaptation to the world, the reality symbol. Thus the father symbol was shut out entirely in consciousness, and with it the development of the personality on the masculine side of his organism, for in order to deal adequately with the world he must become father himself. This aspect could only express itself negatively, that is, in opposition and antagonism. The ego was not passive or able to succumb—it was too masculine for that—but it could not express itself creatively or constructively. This was well shown by his altruistic longings and aspirations, all of which belonged to the mother symbol, and which were the most constructive elements of his personality.

The destructive aspect of his masculinity was revealed in his espousal of alcoholism, drugs, and various forms of depravity, the "masculine protest" expressing itself in the assumption of all the bad habits which were the antithesis of what his father stood for. This protest and struggle of the ego was so violent as to obscure all the constructive striving which lay only in the feminine aspect and under the symbol of the mother. Here were all his ideals, which played a very definite part in his psyche although inactive in the world, and these were the basis of the wish that he might be a woman married to a woman. In other words, he wished to shut out masculinity entirely, for it was evil, and to live in a feminine world. It is so rare to hear a man express the desire to be a woman that we must recognize the overwhelming power of the symbol which evoked such a phantasy. Actually, since the mother was the symbol for achievement, strength, and adaptation in the world, as well as for love and altruism, it is quite understandable that he should desire to be a woman, for then he could be effective and capable as the mother was. If so, then he might marry a woman, from doing which he was now debarred, since he was psychically not a man in the positive

sense, only negatively so. The positive elements in his case belonged to the feminine component of the personality but from these he was barred on account of his male physical organism. Because of this feminine bias one would expect a passive attitude towards men and an aggressive one towards women, but instead his psychic formula was aggressive towards men, passive towards women. In other words, actually the father was treated as feminine and the mother as masculine. He could not act towards the mother, although she carried the masculine symbol of power, as he would have done had she been the father, for then the typical struggle would take place in which the son tries to overcome the father and wrest from him the power, thus winning for himself the symbol of the father. But the love of the son for the mother inhibits this mechanism so that even though he identifies himself with her, instead of the father, he is paralyzed, as it were, and unable to make the struggle to win for himself as adult a place in the world.

With men, because he had not won his manhood, he was neither able to meet them as an equal nor to accept himself as inferior and be under; hence his never-ending conflict when he met them in the actual world. In his homosexual experience the same condition arose; he had to be the superior and play the male rôle. Against the women in the laboratory, with whom his work brought him into contact, he was equally in rebellion and the idea that they could be over him was unbearable although superior in rank and service.

His antagonism to religion when he definitely turned against his father and all he represented, which expressed itself later as a wish to write a book that would "kill religion," barely conceals the real wish to kill the father himself. In this aspect of the problem we see definitely Freud's Œdipus complex which here carries one part of the conflict and expresses itself most clearly in his curious phantasy of wishing "to be a woman married to a woman when sex would not be a crime." In this incest wish there is clearly bound up the power motive, the

desire to overcome the mother through sexual domination, inhibited by the fact of being a man. However, this is only one aspect bound up with the ego and masculine elements of the personality. Male sexuality is for him, obviously, a crime —only women have the sexual privilege—and treating all women as he would treat his mother is an all inclusive functioning of the incest barrier. We see, early as a little boy, his repugnance to the father, but in the statement, "I had to have everything he had," we also see the beginning of the effort at identification. It was only later at the ushering in of puberty that his childish effort at identification turned to violent repudiation and antagonism, and his mother became father as well. It will thus be recognized that, despite his wish to disregard him, the father was actually the strongest influence affecting his life, although in a negative and destructive form. He was unconsciously identified with the father but consciously attempted to identify with the mother. In this duality in which both the feminine and masculine psychology compete with each other in the same personality, and in which the objective intellect struggles with the subjective feeling function, there lie clearly revealed the complexity and difficulty of these types of persons and only by mapping out the various causes operating to produce the conflicting reactions can one come to any definite conception of the forces dominating the personality.

I have cited these two cases in order to show the varied mechanisms of the type under pathological conditions, but in so doing I do not want to convey the impression that these types of people are always ineffectual and in trouble with their relation to the outer world. For this would be an entirely false picture, since the members of this type comprise the most dominating figures as well as the weakest.

SUBJECTIVE EXTRAVERT

We now come to the separate consideration of the other member of the subjective types, the subjective extravert. This

type is the polar opposite of the emotional introvert which we have been discussing, just as the simple extravert is the opposite of the simple introvert. Here, as in the two objective types, the extravert and introvert, we find many similarities of reaction and response which bring these types so close together that frequently the differences seem lost in the similarities. The point of meeting is in the subjective aspect of the personality, and the characteristics which this direction of the libido engenders can be common to both.

However, the great distinction between this type and the emotional introvert is that the libido of the subjective extravert is normally orientated towards the outer objective world; in other words, it is in relation to the object itself, instead of to the idea of the object or the subjective image, which is the marked characteristic of the introvert type. This allows, generally speaking, a better adapted and easier relation with the outer world, a more definite feeling of being at home, and a capacity to shift successfully one's position when the demands of the situation seem to require it. This is the type of individual, more than any other, in whom judgment is happily influenced and guided by intuition. According to his homely expression, he gets a "hunch" about the matter requiring consideration, and will often allow himself to be guided by this irrational procedure, and frequently very successfully. His effect upon the emotional introvert is frequently most disturbing for, according to the degree of his subjectivity, he often shows the same lack of stability or fixity, but with this difference; he can use his intuition to his own advantage, quite unconsciously adapting his ideas to fit the object or the situation of the moment and is not disturbed by it. His emphasis lies not on the idea or on the subject but on the object itself. Therefore, he is not brought into that painful conflict over his instability, which is the fate of the emotional introvert. He, too, possesses a marked tendency to identification which, however, unlike that of the opposite type, tends wholly to absorb his ego, so that his personality becomes lost or merged in the

experience or situation of another. Through this complete surrender, however, he often gains his personal development by the painful path of experience, while the emotional introvert, on account of never wholly surrendering his ego, dramatizes the situation, plays a part, and thus is self-deceived. This capacity for complete surrender is more generally possessed by the feminine members of the type than the masculine, for man regardless of type has universally a greater development of the ego function than woman.

The subjective extravert, like the emotional introvert, is, generally speaking, highly emotional although not in the same way as the latter. The adaptation to the world is more adequate and is made directly through his feeling and intuition; there is not such an amount of unadapted libido stored up to cause the mass-affects that characterize the emotional introvert. An over-emotional reaction to a situation can only be brought about by lack of adaptation to it; hence the release of the stored-up unadapted libido overwhelms it. Therefore, when the extravert falls into a neurosis he can behave in the same way as the introvert or present many of the same symptoms, for then he too fails in his proper adaptation to external reality.

The feeling of inferiority can also play an important part in the psychology of the subjective extravert. I have referred to inferiority as one of the most typical characteristics of the introvert, but this is true of all persons in whom the libido is subjectively orientated and consciousness is identified with the ego. Therefore, whenever the unconscious plays a dominating rôle in the individual, there is certain to be present the ambivalent feelings and the inferiority-superiority problem is presented. The degree to which this is felt is determined by the depth of subjectivity, or in other words, the intrusiveness of the unconscious. On account of his tendency to identify himself with objects in the external world the feeling of inferiority is less apt to be continuous in the subjective extravert, but will most often occur sporadically and in connection with some definite relation to the objective world. It is when he is forced,

through the introverting libido, into a direct contact with his ego, that he becomes aware of his feeling of inferiority. As long as the external world of objects is the only reality recognized by these subjective types they are under the necessity of giving it exclusive consideration, and therefore disregard those other human needs which are particularly associated with the ideal and with the higher creative possibilities. These tendencies belong to the subjective sphere. Therefore, a lack and inadequacy in recognizing its claims induce a dissatisfaction with external reality, which inevitably brings with it the feeling of inferiority regardless of type.

On the other hand, when the demands of the external life are easily met and do not force the individual to adapt to objective difficulties, there may be found in this type the most ideally happy persons, the happiness being like that of the child who lives in a joyous world of his own creation, unaware of and untroubled by the storm and stress about him. This is particularly true of the feminine members of the type and it includes those appealing, infantile characters who have such an attraction and charm for the masculine portion of humanity. This joyous ecstatic feeling would be scarcely possible to the introvert types, for they find in their unconscious all the terrors of the darkness and of the unknown. They cannot remain peacefully inside life in the state of childhood, for, on account of the demands of the ego, development must inevitably take place. Instead of paradise, the inferno is their portion, and they are driven forth to conflict and strife.

The qualities of imagination, intuition, and feeling, all directed primarily to the external world, lead the men of this type particularly to prospective activities. They will be found among speculators, promoters, explorers, and in all activities wherein the element of the unknown and the uncertain predominates. In their love life they are rhapsodic lovers, idealistic and sympathetic, more loyal and true to the ideal of love than to the love object. Therefore, although they may frequently appear to be able to find consolation and happiness

with different objects when one fails them or their love is withdrawn, it will be generally found that, in the depths, their love is centered around some one ideal experience or object which is closed away from the ordinary life. On account of the absence of the "will to power" complex there is never the struggle and conflict with the love object nor the tendency to strike or hurt it which is so characteristic of the emotional introvert. Their turning away is accomplished much more markedly through the attraction of other objects which seduce them, for they are not bound to the idea of the object, but to the ideal object itself.

The weakness of the subjective extravert arises through his too great surrender of himself, through his inability to become aware of or frankly to express his attitude; and, through fear of hurting another he continues to play a part in a situation which he does not truly feel. This condition can be carried to an extent hardly comprehensible to the introvert who is at at all times aware, even painfully so, of himself and his reaction to the external world in defense of his own ego. The misunderstandings produced by these two opposite reactions are easily observable. The emotional introvert will discharge his unpleasant feelings and dissatisfaction upon the object, and then will feel relieved and at peace; whereas the extravert will repress them and ignore them as much as possible until, the dissatisfaction and irritation accumulating, he expresses himself in a definite action. Therefore, although behavior may appear quite similar externally, the motivations are entirely differently determined. It is not uncommon for people of both these types to juggle with several situations at once, gradually becoming entangled and involved in the meshes of their own weaving. For one it is weakness through feeling for the object, for the other weakness through feeling for the subject or ego.

As a general rule, the members of the extravert types are those who must learn their lesson and make their development through actual experience. This experience is their reality,

while for the introvert types, except the objective group, the phantasy of the experience or the idea can so completely be substituted for the concrete reality, that the actual experience is often unnecessary and even dangerous. Even when they carry the idea or phantasy into reality and make the actual experience, the fact itself can become nothing but a symbol and, for this reason, experience for them so often fails to be of value, and is only repeated futilely again and again. One can gain value from experience only when *it is grasped in its double aspect as symbol and as reality; not when it is possessed merely as a symbol* and the subjective content, expressed through the idea or phantasy, is the only reality. Actually there are two realities, concrete external fact, and the inner subjective and psychological factor; adaptation and assimilation must take place with both.

The men of the subjective extravert type, because their libido normally moves outward towards the external world, are more definitely allied with the masculine quality expressed in action, rather than in thought; therefore, they have, generally speaking, much less difficulty in achieving a satisfactory external relation with the world than men of the emotional introvert type.

For the women of this type, however, the situation is more difficult than for the women of the introvert type. Possessing equally with men libido directed towards the external world, they also frequently possess the same ambitions and desires in regard to it but, on account of their sex and the collective attitude towards it, it is much more difficult for them to realize themselves or achieve that consciousness of the self which is necessary for the beginning of any individual development. The conflict into which they are brought by the rival claims of their natural, strongly marked emotional nature and the need for the development of the thought function which normally serves the ego, is one of the chief causes for the production of their neuroses. On account of the forced introversion of the libido which arises through the neurosis, the

claims of the ego are brought to consciousness. As long as any individual remains identified with his one strongest function—in this type the function of feeling or intuition—he avoids the inner conflict, but also he avoids any further development of himself as an individual, except along the already accentuated line of his adapted function. This is particularly well illustrated by the women of the subjective extravert type.

However, although these people have little difficulty in getting easily into relation with people and things, individuals of this type are very sensitive to outer demands and will resist all attempts to coerce or bind them. They are inclined to be lawless, and to dissipate themselves, becoming part of whatever they contact. "I live not in myself but I become a portion of that around me; and to me High Mountains are a feeling," sings Byron; and, says Whitman, "I do not ask the wounded person how he feels—I myself become the wounded person."

They give themselves so readily to whatever interests them that the attempt of any one to possess them produces an unbearable situation, and drives them in an opposite direction. The overflowing of their libido on all around them, lures and promises—the fulfilment is a different story, for they are generally quite unconscious of the effect they have produced. Their difficulty lies in the effort required to hold themselves long enough to a particular situation or task to complete it adequately. Too many other dazzling possibilities lie before them, so that they must be off to the next thing before the first is finished. They are always idealists and concerned with plans and schemes for carrying their dreams into reality. In their personal life they are generally careless, lovable, unthinking, absorbed in the attraction of the moment. There is always the excitement of the unexpected; the unknown is loudly calling, for chance largely dominates and adventure beckons, although this latter lure is characteristic of all people in whom the unconscious plays the dominant rôle, and who are under the sway of their subjective functions. The subjective extravert is an irrational type, to whom all may happen

or nothing. They are generally over-confident and never foresee the possibility of failure; instead their minds are occupied by their own completed visions lying just beyond. They often exercise a great attraction, and can persuade others, through their eager belief in their phantasy, to see it as they do—a completed thing. They do not like to deal with the actual fact or face the reality of the present. They are better at creating plans than executing them and their conceptions are often left to others to carry out; they dislike detail, and are more interested in the acceptance of their idea than in its fulfilment.

They are stimulating, eager, and inspiring to others. Shand in his *Foundations of Character* expresses the tendency of this type in his discussion on confidence: "Confidence, the common vice of passionate natures, either looks on dangers as afar off or does not recognize difficulties until surrounded by them." But this aspect is compensated by the fact that they are able contagiously to affect and influence others to the co-operation necessary for the proper carrying out of the plan. This looks like self-confidence, but it is an appearance only, for the self is the last thing consciously felt or recognized; the full power of the libido is put upon the object. This is characteristic, of course, of all extraverts, and is what Freud calls *libidinous investment of objects*. They exhibit a readiness to see all sides of a situation and to give all possibilities a hearing, aptly illustrated by William James when he states: "Facts are good, give us lots of facts. Principles are good, give us plenty of principles."

Like the other types, the individuals reveal all degrees of maturity and emphasis, depending upon which functions have achieved the most development. Many artists are found among these people for in this type the creative impulse is most active.

The subjective extravert possesses the same tendency towards homosexuality as the emotional introvert, although I believe in a less degree, because of the better adaptation to the object achieved. The fact that the sexual instinct is brought into a more definite relation with the object some-

what militates against the homosexual tendency expressing itself in consciousness in any definite way. Only in those individuals in whom love has remained in the infantile phase of parental identity, and has not yet been brought up to meet the adaptation to the outer object, or in those in whom an early identification with the opposite sex has been made, and through this a definite activity of both feminine and masculine components of the personality has arisen, does homosexuality become active. When we have the double division of the personality marked in both vertical and horizontal directions as described in the beginning of the discussion of the bisexual types,[1] then the homosexual tendency is certain to be present. These people are all at the point when a new development and further integration of the personality must take place, else a complete disorientation and neurotic fixation, or a disintegration, will surely occur.

This sense of psychic disintegration can be found in the unconscious with no definite idea or external sign of such a condition, but it may produce a definite effect nevertheless. A peculiar condition of this sort lasting since childhood was brought to light during the analysis of a woman patient, who appeared as happily adapted and normal a person as could well be found. She had had, ever since she could remember, attacks of terror awakening her out of her sleep, when she would find herself sitting up in bed screaming, heart beating, cold perspiration, and all the signs of extreme fear. There was never the slightest recollection of the cause of the terror and no dream or phantasy ever accompanied the state. These attacks occurred with no regularity, sometimes as often as fortnightly, sometimes once a month, and appeared to have no connection with anything else about her life. She was so free from fear or anxiety in her ordinary everyday life that even these severe attacks which would have been considered a great trouble or distress by the average person were simply accepted as an unpleasant condition for which there was nothing

[1] P. 216.

to be done, and no fuss was made about them. Her husband confirmed her account of the condition and its effect upon her.

The analysis had proceeded some time before anything was revealed which could be associated with the condition. Then a dream occurred which brought up the association of insanity and she told of her feeling of horror over anything connected with loss of consciousness, loss of control, or irresponsibility. A little time after this, a dream occurred which on awakening carried with it, for the first time in her life, a similar terror with which she was so familiar. She dreamed that she was lying on her bed, but at the same time saw parts of her body, arms, legs, and portions of the torso scattered in all parts of the room. When she realized in the dream that this was her body and that she was completely disintegrated the same deadly terror gripped her and awakened her.

This then was the danger from which she had suffered, now imaged in physical terms in the dream. Only when through the analysis she had begun to gain a firmness in her ego function could the formless fear rise to imagery capable of mental perception and this capacity in itself announced the beginning of her freedom from this danger, for in a very short time the condition ended and has never recurred.

As examples convey the idea much better than discussion, I shall again cite two cases which well illustrate the distinguishing features between the two subjective types, and at the same time show their relation to each other. They complement the two cases introduced to illustrate the mechanisms of the emotional introvert.

The first is that of a woman aged thirty-seven, married, no children. She does not call herself ill, but feels she has reached an impasse, which is interfering with her happiness and her life, so that unless some solution is reached she will certainly develop an illness which she wishes to avoid. She has tried unsuccessfully for months past to understand what is the matter with her, and now seeks help. She states: "Previous to my marriage I had always

a great sense of physical vitality, but was subject to slight periods of mental depression alternating with great buoyancy. The only disturbance of health that I have ever had was a period of nervous indigestion which seemed to produce a troublesome anemia and debility. This occurred about two years after my marriage. Ever since, I seem to have intermittent periods of illness, or at least exhaustion and incapacity. Last autumn, after a long time in the country, I started work with some zest, but in a few months sank into a depression which seemed to nullify every effort, and from which I am unable to rouse myself."

The patient presents a good physique; a well-developed body, a clear direct gaze; a rather strained expression, however, but she has a warm, sympathetic personality. She is rather emotional, and is clearly of the extravert type with a well-developed intellect. She is serious, earnest and reasonable, but over-intense. She gives the following history:

She was the oldest of five children, devoted both to her father and mother, and as she was much older than the other children, she shared the care of them with her mother, being the "little mother" to them. As a child, she was very fond of imaginative games, all sports and athletics. She was called "tom-boy," and liked playing with boys better than with girls. She liked people and the world in general, although she sometimes had violent aversions. Though she was much given to phantasy-making and romancing she was withal very practical and adaptable. I shall quote her own words:

"I was very fond of all the arts and chiefly expressed myself through writing stories and acting, also did some painting and drawing. I did not go to any regular school until I was twelve years old but was taught at home, then went to a private school from which I entered the university at seventeen years of age. I graduated four years later, although the college period was rather a difficult time on account of the many demands on me to share the activities of home. My mother was a woman of unusual mental endowment, undemonstrative but with an intense emotional nature, much controlled, and with difficulty revealing her feelings. She was entirely devoted to her family and my father's interests, which quite dominated the household. Her greatest weakness was her unselfishness and the permitting of her entire life to be given over completely to her family, with the consequent sacrifice of her own tastes and personal

preferences. My father had a warm, expressive temperament, good mental endowment, quick sympathies, strong antagonisms, abundant love of life; was a fighter, feeling every struggle worth going through, generous in many things, also relentlessly selfish in others, with great tenderness and a terrible hardness when crossed. He was sometimes just, sometimes unjust in personal relations, apparently radical but naturally a conservative temperament. On account of my father's activities we kept open house and our life was largely one of action and excitement. My mother would have liked quietness, for she was naturally the student, philosopher type, and devoted to ideas, but she shared father's life in every way and everything was subordinated to that. Life was keyed at a high pitch generally, and I always felt the strain. I was always devoted to my brothers and sister, and altogether we were tremendously bound in affectional bonds. Everything connected with any of us was always taken very intensely and seriously. I can remember how painful it always was to leave home and father and mother, but singularly enough once away I never suffered from homesickness, and always dreaded returning, becoming greatly depressed over the prospect as the time approached for my return.

"My first sex knowledge came from observation of animals as a child, and afterwards through various childish experiences. I never felt any sense of guilt or shame, but thought it all intensely interesting and curious. I have been conscious of sex attraction in relation to boys and girls, and as I grew older, to both men and women. I have a much greater preference for men, however, although I am as fond of women as personalities. I have felt, ever since I understood what woman's lot was generally, a resentment over the inequality of the burden placed on her. My marriage took place about nine years ago, after a period of bitter opposition from my family. I was engaged several times before, but broke the affairs myself before communicating with them. Now I determined to marry anyway, and carried my point through. I was much in love with my husband, and we started out well. I had been busy writing, teaching, and dealing with affairs ever since I left college; my husband's interests were along the same lines as my own, and I expected to continue my work even more successfully than before. However, I found many difficulties. My husband is nervous, high strung, and demanding. He is loyal and devoted to me, and means to be considerate and protective,

but is extremely exacting in all the details of life, and is a natural worrier and in a constant state of anxiety over little things. I seem to be caught in a constant round of details which are nothing in themselves, but which overwhelm me, and I am neither able to do my work in any efficient way nor to manage my household affairs and the constant demands of my husband. I suppose I might do the latter if I could quite give up the idea of any work of my own. This solution of the difficulty I have tried, but it seems simply impossible in spite of my willingness. I have been urged to have children, and to hold myself in this way to a normal woman's life, but I cannot think that when I am utterly unable to manage my affairs as they are, that to add the responsibility of a child would provide any way out. While subject to these despondent and nervous reactions it would be neither justice to myself nor to the child to bring it into this environment."

I have given the story of this cultured, earnest, and really capable woman in some detail to show as clearly as possible from the actual history just how the influences of the family may affect a personality and especially one of this sensitive and impressionable type. For this woman is a typical example of the bisexual type, a subjective extravert with the dualism expressed both vertically and horizontally. Her story at once reveals the conflict between, first, the masculine and feminine components and, second, between the two worlds of subjectivity and objectivity. Her life of extraversion carries her to rather extreme heights at times, and from this she swings back in revolt and sinks to the depths of depression (introversion), the opposite extreme. She can find a resting place with neither one of the two pairs of opposites between which she is torn.

Now let us see how her personality can be mapped out. It is obvious from her description that her mother is an introvert who had through her love for her husband made a complete surrender to the feeling side of her nature, at the expense of her own individual desires. She has assumed an extraverted adaptation, functioning chiefly through action and meeting the

extraverted personality of the husband in a most successful way for him. The father is obviously a subjective extravert type and the daughter is of the same type, the differences between them depending chiefly on the matter of the sex. In the daughter the accent lies more on the subjective factor than on the objective, in spite of the fact that her life has been lived largely under the same constellation as her father's.

It was a matter of some months to bring to light clearly just what forces were operating in this person, gradually destroying her usefulness as well as her health and strength. I spoke earlier of the serious effect of the tendency to identification which is so marked a characteristic in this type. In this woman we have a marked example of the submergence of the individuality, and of the destroying power of this tendency. She had made a complete identification with her father, originally largely because his personality was the dominant power in the household, and stood, therefore, for individual freedom; but also because she was of the same psychological type and this was the most natural path for her. Consequently, as she grew to adulthood, his adaptation to the world was the one with which she identified herself under the symbol of the son; indeed, as was later disclosed, her father called her his son, and she consciously thought of herself under this symbol. She lived his life in a great measure, reproducing for herself long after she had left home, a similar type of activity in the world, even to the rather feverish atmosphere which characterized her father's house.

Periods of revolt and reaction from this complete absorption of herself in the parental *milieu* were present from early childhood and, therefore, we can understand the meaning of her peculiar attitude towards her return to her home after an absence. For it must be remembered that this girl was united in the closest bonds of love and affection to her family, hence the difficulty of leaving them, and of tearing herself away. Once this was accomplished, however, and she had breathed the freer air of the open world there arose the struggle against

putting herself back into the bondage woven by the power of love.

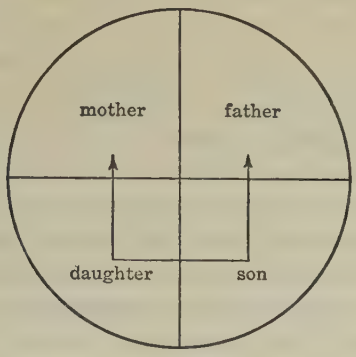
As she grew older, she tells us, the conflict with her father broke out rather openly. They found many things on which they could not agree; there were long periods when they hardly spoke to each other. Here we have the typical struggle belonging to the son and his father, the adolescent youth who is attempting to move up and take his place in the world; or, according to the Freudian interpretation, who sees in the father a dangerous rival who must be overcome in order to win the mother. This conflict belongs specifically to masculine psychology; it does not belong to feminine psychology which, correspondingly, should take up the same problem in relation to the mother. With this girl, however, instead of the normal conflict with the mother beginning at puberty, we see a deepening of sympathy and understanding with the mother, while the conflict with the father becomes intensified.

The complication in all this, however, lies in the fact that the individual is a woman, not a man; therefore, she must of necessity deal with the feminine psychology, as well as the masculine, which she has intensified through identification. There is no escape from it, and in her problem we see very clearly the conflict between the bisexual factors. For she has a deep and tender love attachment to her mother, as well as a great admiration for her; consequently an identification has taken place with her as well as with the father. She was the "little mother" to the younger children and consistently shared with her mother, to her utmost ability the responsibilities of the family. She was early in revolt against what seemed to her the "unjust burdens" which the woman had to bear. She saw her mother's life and separate individuality completely absorbed by the father and resented the sacrifice, never realizing that she, too, through identification of her femininity with the mother, was all unconsciously in the grip of the same fate. She had a good mind, and developed it to a high degree, but in spite of this, through the dominance of

her feelings and love nature, she was surely and slowly being drawn by the unseen hand of fate towards the same destiny as her mother.

Her marriage, although delayed until her twenty-ninth year, was the final act that brought her face to face with her situation. Her husband was of a temperament similar to that of her father; demanding in all the details of life, absorbing in his requirements, and, although theoretically believing in an individual life for the woman, actually quite overshadowing her personality by his claims. In addition, she loved him dearly, so that here we have all the material necessary for the psychic conflict between the rival claims of her own individuality expressed through the masculine symbol, and the collective power of love and sacrifice symbolized under the feminine component as the mother. Between these two forces she was torn, neither element having yet succumbed. Her protest and refusal to bear a child was simply a part of the battle being fought against succumbing to the woman in her, and her rather marked bitterness over the problem of women in general was all part of the same personal struggle. As the conflict went on, in spite of efforts repeatedly attempted to accept her femininity and to ally herself altogether with the love and maternal side of her personality, she was gradually being undermined in health and strength, so that actually she was much less capable in any line than she had been a few years before. For the real fact was that she was not living any individual life. This was entirely absorbed in the identification with the parental life and she, as an individual, was only a pale shadow hardly visible at all, and that only as represented by the conflict. That the feminine component was actually the dominant factor in her personality was shown by her sexual history for, although she had experienced from childhood a sexual attraction towards members of her own sex of which she was quite conscious, her real preference was for masculine love objects, and her choice of a husband was obviously made under the feminine symbol and as a surrogate for the father.

According to our diagram we would map out her psychology thus:



This is the difficult psychic problem in which this woman is involved, and on the outcome her whole future depends. It would be an entire misconception to expect her to give up her struggle for individual development, which would appear to be the case were she asked to surrender the masculine element in her personality. It is true that she must dissolve the identification with the masculine element symbolized by the father but she must also dissolve the identification of the feminine component with the mother. Her task is the difficult one of finding her own individual attitude, of accepting her womanhood and synthesizing the two elements of the personality on a new level.

The other case which I wish to present here is simple in comparison with the one just given, but it also illustrates the dualistic character of these types. In this case, however, the cleavage is in one direction only, the horizontal, so that it is a problem of subjectivity and objectivity without the additional complication of the masculine with the feminine component. It resembles, psychologically, much more the first case given illustrating the emotional introvert,[1] except that this personality is feminine and is without equivalent demands from

[1] See p. 221.

the outer world nor has she any special responsibilities to assume; therefore, she could without hindrance or interference follow her own natural tendencies to their fullest demand.

This case is an unmarried woman, aged thirty, who has no special problems of life to trouble her. She is in excellent health, has never been ill, and looks happy and care-free. She asks for a consultation because, in her own words, she feels she is just waking up to life; she knows she must take some definite step, and feels herself inexperienced and timid. She brings the impression of youth, of a wondering child just looking out on life, and not quite certain which way to go. She is well developed physically, and possesses a warm, expressive personality, which fairly radiates love and trust. It seems impossible that she can be thirty years of age. I asked her how it is that she has lived so long before coming to this realization and awakening. This is her story, told in such a clear and unique way that I shall reproduce her own words:

"As a child I lived entirely in an ideal world of my own making. I was very loving and responsive in my nature and loved to be spoiled, was inclined to be shy with strangers although I felt friendly inside. I always wanted to be first in any play, and also was inclined to be commanding with my playfellows. I never wanted to show my feelings, it wasn't 'ladylike,' and so I withdrew more and more, and became rather stiff and unnatural. I needed the love of mother and masculine persons, but I gradually became indifferent to people generally, and did not like any one who showed the feelings too much. So I lost the warm connection with human beings and grew more lonely and far away from them and reality. I generally had one or two child friends, however, but to all others I felt alien and unrelated. We lived a considerable part of the time in the country, and here I longed to go in the woods alone and talk to nature. All the world seemed very beautiful and full of love, and I felt very religious and close to God in the deep, peaceful way. I loved all the deep religious feelings and found it was a necessity to me to feel this as a reality, and it all gave me a rich, harmonious happiness. I never spoke of this to any one. It all seemed too holy, and although I rarely went to church I had a little altar of my own fixed with pic-

tures and flowers. I was taught privately at home part of the time and also went to a private school, but I never took it very seriously. Although I was ambitious in a certain way, I really did not learn anything but I always had the idea that I must know my lessons, and I passed all my examinations very well. I loved much more to giggle and make jokes and dream dreams. Everything that was associated with the material world I thought of little account, for I was always looking out for eternal things. I was entirely idealistic, and so I divided everything into worth-while, which meant the imperishable in the idea, and worthless which meant to deny everything material. My inclinations to keep alone and my indifference to people grew, and I only wanted connection with God, with the beauty of nature, and with one or two platonic friends. I was very happy with my 'eternal' life, with a great joy inside of me, and often wished to die from sheer happiness.

"At the age of thirteen years I met my 'ideal.' He was a young man about twenty-two years, and from the first moment I knew I loved him. I was very shy and never showed my feelings, but he was full of tender feelings and was strong and virile, and understood me always without any words. He was the only person for whom I felt any authority, and I loved him with all my soul. He was more like an uncle to me for some years, and I was very happy. I wanted only an ideal, and I wanted to be for a man only an ideal too. After a while he asked me to marry him, but I could not, although I loved him dearly. I had no desire to marry, indeed I thought the life between the sexes was something low, because I knew my mother did not esteem it, so I thought that I did a very meritorious thing and came nearer to God if I killed all such feelings. I loved only with my soul, and did not yet make the connection between the material and the spiritual. Except for this one man, I always had younger friends whom I loved in a motherly way and for whom I could do things. I never liked responsibility, and never had to take much, for my mother was always very responsible and liked to manage everything.

"My mother was very capable and healthy. She never thought of herself at all but was always full of activities. She was never happy unless commanding, organizing, and managing, and thought her mind was the only right one. She seemed to be always sacrificing herself for the sake of other people and was always giving out and never

receiving for her own personal needs. She never was at rest inside, was very practical and interested in social things. On one side she was very hard and critical and on the other very good-hearted and doing everything for people. She always pitied herself that she was not a man, and had not the opportunity that a man has. She was not happy with my father, and did not esteem him at all. She worshiped me and spoiled me, but when I expressed my own mind, and she saw how different our tastes were, she was unhappy over me, and we had not much sympathy with each other. I loved her very much, but she could not understand my world and so a separation grew between us. My father retired from business rather early, and then just enjoyed himself. He loved nature and his garden, was very fond of animals, and had generous ideas and feelings but little perseverance about anything. He loved travel, was fond of collecting, and enjoyed mythological studies, old history, and the arts. He is very good natured and rather humorous. Sometimes he seems like a little child, without real earnestness or responsibility. He is materialistic, so we never had much in common either."

Such was the situation and the life lived by this young woman when the war broke upon her idealistic world. Her fiancé, for this is how she regarded him although she was unable to bring herself to the idea of marriage in the physical sense, was among the first to go. She approved of his offering of himself, for this conformed with her idealistic notions, and now he was her hero more than ever. However, he was killed before the end of the first year. She states: "Somehow I didn't seem to realize any sorrow over this, for now I thought he is really nearer to me than ever, and I shall always have him with me, and will not need to marry. I could never feel any horror over death, and I only thought I shall miss his attentions and companionship when the war is over, but I will have him closer to me than before." However, the death of her lover and the war evidently produced more effect on her than she thought, for now suddenly one day without saying anything to her parents, she quietly enlisted for overseas service and began at once a course of training in nursing to fit herself for an aid. Within four months she was gone in spite of the protests of her parents who could not understand this sudden change on her part. As fate would have it, she arrived at a time of special emergency and was assigned almost immediately to a hospital near the front where the worst wounded were cared for.

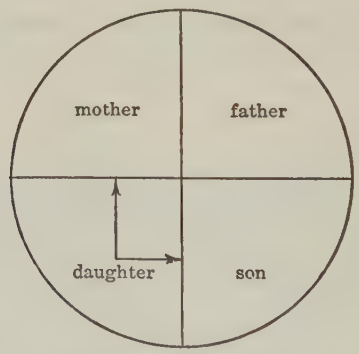
The great separation between herself and the realities of life are nowhere shown better than in this experience which was difficult, and which tried the soul of many experienced women. Before this time she had never been able to see even a drop of blood without fainting, and the roughness and crudity of the ordinary world and life was so unbearable that she had lived entirely in a self-created world from which she never ventured forth. Now, in a short space of time she plunged into a world of horrors, and strangely was not overcome by it; instead, she was actually able to bring along her dream world with her and through this means to really escape the full import of the sorrow and pain with which she was surrounded. She states: "Sometimes I was so tired that all the uncleanness and the terrible things oppressed me, and I seemed crushed between all the nurses of different natures, but then I would go to my world inside and the harmony would give me strength to go on again. I liked my patients and was happy when I could give them help and make them feel a little better. It seemed then that I found a meaning for my life."

This was her first and sole experience with the external world in the way of a life for herself, but war does not last forever and, therefore, a year previous to her visit to me she returned to her home. Ever since she had been trying to find some direction in which to apply her energies in the world. It was no longer possible to remain contentedly in the home as before, and in ordinary life she found herself quite a stranger. This, then, was her problem at the age of thirty years.

It is true that a life history such as this reveals itself to be, is rarely to be found in the bustling struggling world of to-day, but it illustrates so completely the psychology of an entirely subjectively orientated life, the condition for which "Paradise" is the symbol, before the conflict between the pairs of opposites has entered and before the serpent has reared its head, that I could not forbear presenting it. Here, in as pure a form in the adult as it is possible to find, we see the state of the child in its original unity, almost wholly detached from worldly things and living in closest relation with feelings of love and beauty, under the symbol of God. The coarse-

ness and ugliness of the objective world did not reach her; death, that unknown terror of man, had no power over her, for all was one; therefore, she experienced all those feelings of ecstasy with which we are accustomed to associate the saints and mystics of old. In another age she would have certainly found her true life in a convent, for such natures are the natural brides and devotees of the church.

But living in this age, inevitably, if the person is to develop or progress at all, he will be forced to come into contact with actual life, and without fail he will meet the conflict between the pairs of opposites which everywhere operate in nature. Man cannot remain in paradise for ever, and this girl is an example of the truth of this statement, all the more marked because she did avoid the issue so long. In her own words, she says, "I can see now that I was simply drifting and wasting my life with all my idealistic ideas and spiritual life. I know now that I must learn to live and play my part and take my share in this life before I am ready for the eternal life, and so I cannot be content any more to go on as I have done in the past." Her psychology can be diagrammed thus:



The description given by this young woman of her parents could not be better for illustrating our type distinctions. The mother is a typical simple extravert type, whose lack of satisfaction in her love life and in her ego function has produced

the compulsory restlessness and activity described by her daughter, also the inclination to hardness and criticism. This is the inevitable result which occurs in this psychological type when there is failure to achieve that rounding out of the personality which brings into activity all the functions of the individual. Her oft repeated plaint was "If only I had been born a man." Equally clear is the description of the father revealing the subjective extravert type, who equally with the mother has missed the full development of his capacities, and has evidently chosen a life of soft sensuous indulgence. The daughter obviously has inherited principally from the father, but in the feminine form, and she became early attached to religious ideals, with the corresponding repression of the physical aspect of her sensuousness. I have cited this case because it illustrates a particular quality of the subjective extravert type, characteristically living in an ideal world of its own making—a bit of paradise where the innocents dwell.

These cases both show a particularly marked condition and therefore do not claim recognition as typical normal members of the type. Perhaps a figure recently well known in the world will be more to the point, and will reveal in greater clarity the dominant traits and reactions. I refer to Lloyd George, former premier of England. In the criticisms and complaints about his policy, or lack of it, we see very clearly the peculiar characteristics of the subjective extravert type. His lack of a fixed or stable policy, his quick change to meet the situation of the moment, his frequent right about face on current issues, his prospective or speculative attitude, which promises more than it can fulfil and which necessitates a constant shifting of ideas as the unknown becomes the known, reveal the typical attitudes and reactions of the type. His dexterity in dealing with the issues which threatened him from time to time, and which were presented in turn by one faction after another which he offended in his efforts to please all, is an object lesson in the art of opportunism. He was a man whose intuitions in relation to the object served as his surest guide

and so far they have served him well. His feeling for the object and tendency to see his ideas as already accomplished, though when confronted with the actual reality they require a shifting of emphasis, is a well recognized characteristic of this type.

In the description of the objective introvert and extravert types I presented the national psychology of England and of Germany as illustrations on a collective scale of the simple types merging into the objective types. In the same way we may take as examples of the subjective types the national psychology of France and of the United States. To be sure it may be hardly a fair comparison to place opposite each other two countries so far apart in point of age. France, representing one of the oldest civilizations of Europe, has a maturity which reveals the highest cultural development of the emotional introvert type of our modern time; the United States, at the opposite pole, the youngest member among the nations, presenting an immaturity which can only be likened to adolescence, nevertheless reveals clearly in her psychology those character traits which we recognize as belonging to the subjective extravert. Moreover, in those national differences between the United States and England, which are not dependent merely upon age and maturity, can be traced the distinctions which separate the type I call the simple extravert from the subjective extravert. Their differences are largely dependent upon the degree to which adapted or desexualized libido is applied to the external world of concrete things and ideas, is stabilized and unified, and correspondingly drawn away from those subjective functions of imagination and intuition belonging to the inner world, the ideal.

The more completely and naturally the individual or nation adapts to the external world of objects and the more that libido is applied directly to the shaping and dominating of concrete facts to suit the human will (to the reality principle in terms of Freud), the less creative interest and attention are given

to the realms of art, beauty, spirituality, and philosophy. These are all products of the so-called pleasure principle (of Freud), that is, they are products of libido which cannot be adapted to objective reality and which therefore must create a world of its own.

In the French nation we see the most complete expression of the duality of the emotional introvert. The achievement of living in two worlds, side by side, the one dominated by the pleasure principle and the other by the reality principle, each entirely separated from the other by an impassable wall so that there is practically no encroachment of one upon the other, can nowhere be seen so clearly as in the psychology of the French nation. In French realism, with its hard uncompromising, often ruthless, facing of the facts of life, without pity or mercy, we have an example of what forced acceptance of the reality principle means to the emotional introvert type, and one which reveals better than all explanations or description, the great differences between this type and the subjective extravert. There is no childish self-deception here, no smoothing of the bare facts that man is egocentric, cruel, a destroyer of his kind for his own individual power, ultimately holding nothing sacred or above him; for this is the unredeemed ego reduced to its primitive state. The absolute devotion to system, rule, tradition; the measuring of everything by the criterion of its utility; the intellectual honesty, the lack of all sentimentality and even sentiment when reality is to be met; the narrow, limited, and rigid attitude to reality in which no vision, dream, or phantasy on the side of beauty and goodness is ever allowed to soften the hard outline of the actual fact, either as it is, or as it is feared it may become, all reveal the distinctions between the reality of the emotional introvert and that of the subjective extravert. The pain involved in its mastery, and the overwhelming rôle of fear as the motive power, are clearly shown in her history, and are at the present time very obvious.

Love of form and order is one of the chief French character-

istics and its perfection in literature and life is nowhere else so completely fulfilled. Indeed, this is carried to such an extreme that the spirit is often lost and nothing but form remains. In this connection I must quote a paragraph from a student of France and recent writer on the subject of her character:

> The real part that France has played among nations has been played by her thought, not by action. The effect of the latter has been sharp, not lasting; the former has endured. . . . French thought has had great, French deed little, influence upon the world. English doings have lastingly changed the world, and the world remains impervious to English thought. French reason has to some extent fashioned all reasoning minds in the world after its image. It is a very notable thing that English influence has spread little beyond material power; the influence of the French mind has spread to where French material power never existed.

This summing up very clearly presents the great fundamental contrast between introvert and extravert psychology, the one known through deeds, the other through ideas. So much for the reality side of the picture. But we are dealing with the emotional introvert and in the French emotionalism associated with the pleasure principle, there is found all that side of French life which delights and charms the Anglo-Saxon stranger, as well as shocks and bewilders him. It is not difficult to prove Freud's thesis of the intimate connection between the pleasure principle and the sexual instinct, if a study is made of the pleasure side of the French character. Nowhere is made such a frank acknowledgment, without shame or apology, of the large part played by the sexual instinct in the pleasure, the charm, the beauty, and the art of life, as in the French psychology. Nowhere else, perhaps, is found such a kaleidoscopic variety of tendencies and characteristics, all allowed to exist side by side so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others, as in the French life. The lowest and the highest,

the most artistic life and the most sordid realism, the highest development of thought, and the crudest and hardest attitude toward reality itself, all exist together, and make up the most complete expression of the psychology of the emotional introvert to be found in the world to-day. It is not youthful but mature, in as complete a sense of the word as England is mature, and it presents in its culture and character the highest point reached by this type, the development of two parallel worlds. One is created by the outward going current of the libido, forced through the domination of fear and the subjective sense of danger, towards outer reality, which appears as an enemy about to destroy. The other is produced from the inturning, unadapted, creative libido associated with the ego, out of which psychological reality is born in forms of art creations, beauty and thought.

In the comparison between the psychology of the United States and of France there is spread clearly before one the essential distinctions between these two types. Their sympathy and mutual attraction for each other are really the attraction of the opposites. Examine the characteristics which they seem to possess in common, and the distinctions in quality will appear at once. The emotionalism and responsiveness of the French character compared with the emotionalism and responsiveness of the American character, the realism and practicality of both peoples, their gaiety and type of pleasures, all present in their differences the distinctions between the two subjective types.

The American characteristic of leaping to conclusions before any well-defined thought has crystallized, the emotional idealism, the consideration of life as a game and the joy in the game, the speculation with to-morrow rather than the dealing with the present as the fact on which to build the future, the general optimism, the responsiveness to all new ideas and methods and, at the same time, the practical interest and activity in the matter of "getting-on" in the material world to the great exclusion of the subjective values of art and beauty,

are all tendencies which reveal the subjective extravert type in his more objective aspect. The general undercurrent of warmth, of sympathy and kindliness, also of carelessness, superficiality, and lawlessness which are fundamental traits in American psychology, all reveal the vast differences between the two subjective types. The two French passions, one for fact and the other for system, and the devotion to these, with a deep conservatism underlying all, the love of authority, tradition, and security, are met by quite the opposite reactions in American psychology. Hatred of authority, irreverence towards tradition, lack of conventionality or fixed system, the general haphazard attitude and willingness only to meet the situation of the moment, treating it as seems best when it arises, the love of adventure and taking chances are traits all belonging to the psychology of the subjective extravert. The lure of the unexpected and the unknown, the hoping for the best while the worst is just at one's door, the feeling expressed by "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world" will be recognized as the philosophy of this type, and expresses the general tenor of the psychology of the American nation.

The American ideal is that of individuality; the French ideal is that of the group. The unit of one is the individual, the unit of the other is the family. This does not mean that any actual individual development in the sense of individuation has been achieved by one nation any more than by the other, but the two very opposite ideals expressed in conduct and thought, reveal very clearly the psychological need of each, the conscious expression of the unconscious condition.

The subjective extravert, feeling the original sensuous attachment, the emotional connection and bondage to the object, to nature and to natural life, needs to achieve separation, a greater independence of the object and a more distinctly human relation and development; hence the expression of his intense individualistic desire and need. The emotional introvert, on the contrary, with his feeling of separation, of being alien, and the intense ego-consciousness, together with his deep

sense of loneliness and isolation and the necessity to protect himself, needs to find a connection and relationship with the universe, hence his intense clinging to the natural, human connection, the family.

The introvert may be said to have won an intellectual independence and a higher unity with life through his thought function, but he remains unredeemed and weak, in the bondage of fear and conflict, in the emotional realm. The extravert has won an objective independence through his activity and domination of the forces of nature, towards which he feels superior, but his thought is bound fast, in a slavery of sensuous attachment, to the objects of the phenomenal world.

SUMMARY AND GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE TYPES

The recognition of psychological types, and the grouping of human beings under them is not an achievement of the modern mind alone. Although the classification so far carried out seems to afford a real working scheme of great practical value and in this regard is new, nevertheless the many attempts heretofore put forward, and the efforts of numbers of observers to arrive at some clear cut comprehension of the differences in the so called "temperament" of mankind, must be recognized.

The classic division into four temperaments, the sanguine, bilious, melancholic and phlegmatic, put forth first by Hippocrates and Galen, was the earliest effort to distinguish between the different types of behavior and reactions observed, and to recognize in them something more than merely individual idiosyncrasy. All the later attempts towards a more definite and clear grouping have been based upon these original divisions. But Shand,[1] who discusses the qualities of the classical types in his chapter on temperaments, and quotes from various authors who have written on this subject, shows clearly how impossible it is to group living men under these classical head-

[1] *Foundations of Character,* Chap. XIII.

ings according to the behavior and reactions which they were supposed to represent. For instance, the sanguine might appear to approximate to my subjective extravert type, according to the description of Richerand, and the bilious to my emotional introvert, but on closer observation the relationship immediately breaks down, for one sees that some of the peculiar qualities supposed to characterize each of these temperaments can be found in both types. Stewart says, in discussing the bilious temperament, "They are 'not impulsive,' their conclusions are 'thoughtfully arrived at,' nevertheless, they are 'passionate, jealous, revengeful, and unscrupulous.'" [1] And corresponding with this the sanguine, according to Richerand, are characterized by inconstancy, levity and emotional superficiality. Kant says the sanguine repent vehemently but their repentance will soon be forgotten, they readily make promises but do not fulfil them, etc. The particular characteristics of each of these temperaments are summed up by Richerand in the statement, "As love is in the sanguine so is ambition in the bilious the governing passion." [2]

Shand subjects the various attributes given by different writers to these types to comparison and analysis, and the futility of attempting to use these divisions either practically or theoretically becomes clearly evident. But even though the formulation was confused and could not be practically confirmed, the persistency of the idea that there were some inherent divisions and distinctions among human beings which were collective and not individual and therefore could be classified, possessed the value of a true insight.

It is true that both the subjective types often exhibit certain tendencies which were formerly attributed to the so-called sanguine temperament. The statement that they are inconstant in love, unfaithful in friendship, without assiduity and responsibility in business, strong in promises and weak in fulfilment, may appear to coincide with certain characteristics which I

[1] Quoted by Shand, op. cit.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

have associated with the subjective types. However, the generality of these traits as an inclusive description is, of course, not true. The salient character tendencies which so often appear distressing and disturbing when associated with the human relations of these types, can all be seen in their simple form in the emotions and behavior of the child. There exists the same intensity of feeling of joy or grief or anger, with a corresponding quick forgetfulness or lack of persistence in the affect; the quickly changing moods, the alternating states of dependency and independence rapidly superseding one another, the wilfulness and unreasonable irritations, the desire for immediate satisfaction of wishes which cannot brook delay or be postponed for a distant satisfaction, likewise the sexual impulses of the child expressed in all the childish forms are all present. All these varieties of behavior will be recognized as playing at different times the largest part in these subjective types, so that one may say that their peculiar characteristics lie in the persistency of the childish psychology. But this is only another way of saying that the distinguishing character of the reactions lies in their close connection with the primary instinctive aspect of the being, before the great organization and modifications have taken place individually through training and education. It is this original nature which we speak of as the collective unconscious.

But this does not by any means account for all the differences, because one finds in children themselves all the distinctions of type which I have described for the adult. Subjective types only allow us to see in their psychic reactions and behavior the attributes and distinctions which are concealed through repression, training and modification in the other types, but which certainly exist underneath largely unchanged, and are even capable of revealing their naked presence under certain conditions of stress or in abnormal states. Therefore, even among the two opposite types most definitely and concretely described by writers, the bilious and the sanguine, there can be found no approach to the types I have described or even

to the general division of extravert and introvert mechanism, upon which my type classification is based.

The establishment of these distinct psychological types with their extreme and very opposite reactions and behavior in the presence of a similar environment, brings with it the problem of their cause or their mode of origin. We hear the ordinary speech declare that this child has a difficult, or an easy, agreeable disposition, as though it were an individual affair and often as though there were some personal choice in the matter. These type distinctions are found everywhere and among all classes in society from the high to the low, and even in the same family there may be found all types represented. Indeed, it is more rare than otherwise to find the same types follow each other in successive births. It is much more likely that the easy, outgoing, responsive child will be followed by the reserved, shy and difficult one, or *vice versa*. Neither does sex play any part in the problem of type distinctions; the passive, thoughtful, reserved type is as likely to be the boy, and the active, aggressive, and outgoing personality the girl, or the reverse.

Although the effects of environment and experience play a very great rôle in determining the future tendencies and development of the child, nevertheless these influences are confined more to the conscious and outer crust of the individual, to his conscious attitudes and conduct, his habits of action and thought under ordinary and simple conditions. They do not fundamentally alter the natural psychic processes of the individual, which beneath all the coverings and outer appearances maintains its inner integrity. This is popularly recognized by the expression, "Civilization is only skin deep." Therefore, while the surface reactions of many individuals appear to determine them very definitely as belonging to this type or to that, this is often deceiving and a cause of much confusion, for the attitude is one unconsciously assumed because of the prevailing family or national psychology, or because of an unconscious overdetermined effort at compensation for an inadequacy

which appears undesirable. A careful study, however, will reveal the gaps and irreconcilable tendencies which normally have no part in the type assumed, and soon there appear the evidences of a reaction mechanism beneath which the real psychological type to which the individual belongs becomes clear. At the same time his difficulties may be found to lie in the fact that he has been trying to live a psychological complex not his own.

It is the recognition, therefore, of the profound inherency of the type distinctions that causes the problem of their genesis to become an important one, and we are forced to ask ourselves how do these differences arise and what psychological processes are involved?

The basic types can be said to be born, not made; and only by going back to the cradle, where all the types which I have described can be found, and there studying the differences in the psychic responses to similar stimuli in the earliest period, can one hope to gain an insight into the psychological distinctions evidenced in behavior and attitude. There are, it is true, countless people who are largely undifferentiated, vague and undefined in their outline, who are exceedingly difficult to classify, but even among these, careful observation will often reveal the beginnings of differentiation along definite type lines.

Just as there are great differences in the physical structure of the body so also there are the greatest differences in response to the stimuli that impinge upon the senses. All receive the experiences through the same set of organs, but the utilization and assimilation of these impressions differ as widely as the anatomical structure of the body and produce a greater or lesser effect upon the relation of the individual to his environment. The awakening out of the original undifferentiated state is rapid or slow, the separation between the inner self-originating processes, the urges, and the reacting mechanism which deals with the incoming sensations, is less or more definite, in various individuals. These differences are marked in such

ordinary processes as the manner of awakening out of normal sleep. Some persons are immediately alert and aware of themselves and their surroundings, others awaken with difficulty, and only slowly and heavily detach themselves from their preoccupation with their inner processes, and become orientated to their external environment.

The human being at birth is in a completely subjective state, and has not yet awakened from the primary unconscious condition of the intrauterine state, where subject and object are undifferentiated. The function of sensation, with the perceptions it arouses, precedes the beginning of real consciousness and the object is not yet perceived as separate from the subject; for the psychic functions are in a condition of undifferentiation, potentially available but not actually, and the greater part of the early period of normal infancy is spent in the unconscious state of sleep. Although this condition approximates the prebirth state, as nearly as is possible outside the mother's body, nevertheless, the great primary rent in the completely subjective state and condition of physical continuity with the mother has been made by birth. The introduction of the child to external stimuli and the sensations arising from them by playing upon its passivity, has necessitated a reaction. As the outer stimulation of the senses and the physical urges increase, consciousness of pleasantness and unpleasantness arises and, following this, there gradually awakens that specifically human sense of self-awareness. The separation of subject and object has begun.

Perhaps nowhere in literature can there be found a clearer or more beautiful description of this elementary process than is presented by Karl Joel.[1]

> Life begins with the disintegration of the original condition, history begins with the banishment from Paradise [the primary condition in the womb], the soul awakens with the original sin, with the rent, which disturbs its unity, with the shock which

[1] *Seele und Welt.*

shakes its balance. . . . The dull original condition changes as sensibility and urge appear with feeling out of the indifferent unity. Sensibility and urge are the differing functions, the soul in its passive and active variation. Sensibility is already sensibility from change, urge is already urge to change. The original experience has a more objective side in sensation, a more subjective side in feeling, and in this way it gradually leads, there towards comprehension of the object, towards world-consciousness, here toward the comprehension of the subject, toward self-consciousness, and both become orientated and climb upward together. . . . "Where am I," asks he who is awakening from sleep, and he becomes orientated as he alienates himself from his environment, and his environment from the larger world. To awaken means to be able to distinguish.

It would seem that in this primary shock of birth might be found an important factor bearing upon the great distinction between the two major divisions of extravert and introvert.[1]

The introvert seems to have experienced the more profound shock of the two in the wrench from the protecting peace and harmony of the womb; the forcible rending of the physical continuity appears to have been more disturbing to him; that is, the sensation of the change, the pain and pressure have made a deeper effect on his organism; therefore, the assimilation of the experience has been more difficult. The immediate and present situation is unpleasant, painful and disliked, and produces a great contrast between what is and what was. What was has become a memory imprint, which can be recovered only by turning away from what is.

Freud calls attention to the process of birth as being the first experience of fear in the life of the individual, and suggests that this primal fear has become the prototype for the

[1] To be sure, this would not eliminate the original biological basis, for when we postulate a greater or lesser sensitivity of the organism the problem of the general irritability of all cell structure confronts us. Therefore, even if this first great experience of life has effected a different impression on different organisms, the why of this must be ultimately biologically explained.

effect of danger to life, and ever afterward is repeated within him as the model of fear. These two elementary experiences, first, of the psychic impression of comfort (paradise) and second, of fear (evil), appear to be carried together and stamped on the soul of a large number of persons. The last impression, the fear and terror, the danger to the self, appears in the emotional introvert type to overwhelm and dominate the primary sensation of well-being, the paradise state, and the emotion thus evoked continues as a more or less permanent attitude throughout life and becomes the model of reaction of the organism to all future demands of the outer environment.

The opposite type of individual, the subjective extravert, carries the primary feeling of paradise with him into the outer world and birth terrors seem to have had little effect upon his primary psychic condition. He projects his paradise state upon the objects of reality, with which he identifies himself, expecting the same happy relationship as he originally possessed in the womb. The introvert has left his paradise behind—it is only a memory to which he harks back longingly; the secondary impression, the fear, is the dominant and ever-present note. The extravert bears his paradise with him from which even birth has not sufficed to banish him. He goes confidently into the world, wrapped in his original state of bliss which now appears as feeling phantasy, sure that his wishes will be attainable in the not far distant future. The world is a friendly place for him, while for the introvert it is a place of unknown terrors. The latter occupies the major part of his energy in the effort to force himself to assimilate the sensations from the external world and to placate and soften the effects of existence.

We know that the most important and active psychic function for the new-born child is that of sensation. Through the sensory apparatus he becomes aware of the existence of an external world, and by means of it he perceives that which is pleasant and that which is disagreeable. Besides this tendency to react to the incoming stimuli, the organism possesses a capacity for independent action based on self-originating impulses

and therefore, theoretically, we have two distinct processes, the capacity for action and the capacity for reaction.[1]

Now it is conceivable that in one organism the capacity for action could be stronger, and in another the capacity for reaction. In other words, one individual would be more sensitive to the effect of sensations coming from without, and another more affected by the self-generated impulses arising within the organism itself; as an actual fact that is just what we find when we are able to analyze out the separate tendencies.

The organism in which the incoming sensations are assimilated easily and without too intense a reaction, and in which the independent urge of the self-originating impulses is fully equal to or stronger than those coming in from without, can assert itself, can act as well as be acted upon. The assimilation of the experience proceeds without overwhelming the organism by its power and the ego being able to maintain itself does not protest but goes to meet the object, blending itself with it and acting upon it. There is a kind of identity formed between the objects perceived and the experiencing organism, so that its self-originating energy expends itself upon the manipulation of the object itself. Perception is in the greatest degree occupied with the objects which rouse the sensation, for feeling, which mediates between subject and object, is made to serve the object. Conscious perception of the ego does not exist independently to any extent because the ego becomes blended with the object, and functions through it. This mode of adaptation is somewhat analogous to the primitive type found in lower forms of life, where the ego is undifferentiated from the total

[1] I am aware that the modern biologists and psychologists refer only to reaction, distinguishing merely between the inner or outer stimuli; but it seems to me more true, descriptively, of the actual happenings to make a distinction here between the two processes. For instance, one can be shut away from the presence of any outer stimulus to eating. Nevertheless, in course of time hunger will arise within the organism, forcing direct action and effort to appease it. This I would call an urge, while the response which arises from the stimulus of the sense perception of food I would call a reaction. If I am moved to some definite action by an impulse arising within myself, that is a self-originating urge, but if I am moved because that stimulus to action arises from without, I call it a reaction.

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subject, except that here it is the subject with which the ego is identified and there is no domination of the object. This particular process of functioning characterizes the extraverted types in general.

Where the balance in the relation between the active, outgoing, self-originating urge of the organism, and the energy occupied in reacting to and assimilating the stimuli from without, is just enough weighted on the side of the independence of the organism to allow it to utilize for its own purposes the objects which produce the sensations, adapting to them or actively reshaping and molding them, we have the individual whom I call the simple extravert.

There are, however, differing degrees of response and a varying tendency of the independent urges of the organism to greater or less activity, all belonging to the extravert mechanism. These differences of degree with the varying use of the different functions of sensation and thought, feeling, and intuition in the service of adaptation produce the great variability found among individuals even among those belonging to the same general type.

In that large group of persons possessing the extravert mechanism, who show characteristics sufficiently marked to separate them from the simple extravert type, and whom I have designated subjective extraverts, the main organic distinction appears to be a kind of overflowing of the energy belonging to the self-generated urges which overwhelm the more or less passively received sensations from the environment and the reactions thereto.[1] The balance is thrown far

[1] In reality I know it is impossible to separate the organism and its environment. They are two aspects of the same life process, but there is a distinction between the human being and other living organisms in nature. They merely adapt but do not dominate. An analogy to the way I am using the conception of environment acting upon the organism can be more clearly found in the relation between the ocean and the shore. The waves are continuously beating upon the shore and encroaching through carrying away the sand bit by bit. If the shore were as active it would attempt to build itself up higher and, projecting into the sea, successfully resist its invasion and create more land.

over on the side of the independent urges of the organism and the energy associated with these impulses joyously reaches out past any mere reactions to outer stimuli, endowing and coloring the objects of the outer world with the rainbow tints belonging to the subjective aspect of this individual. Instead of simply adapting to the objective world, as it is more or less, and taking into account the actual conditions of the situation which mean difficulty as well as pleasure, this type, in contradistinction to the simple extravert, projects upon the object the glowing attributes and qualities which he wishes and expects. As a result of his own lavish outflow of libido which carries everything before it for a certain distance, these persons are able to infect and influence their surroundings and others, so that the environment and the objects frequently respond to and take on the character and quality with which they are endowed. Many young children function thus to a greater or less extent, but many persons of the subjective extravert type are actually able to continue in adult life to clothe reality with the desired attributes created by the wish-fulfilling phantasies of the subject, the attitude belonging primarily to the state of early omnipotence, characteristic of the infant.

The difficulties with which all achievement is beset are not considered by this type, but only the ends desired, which appear quite obtainable through the activity of the wish-fulfilling imagery projected upon the situation. However, this ideal condition in which wishes appear true cannot last for long, for reality itself makes demands and claims upon the individual to which he must submit if he is to gain his desires. It is this problem, in this type occurring *secondarily,* or as the after effect, instead of primarily, that causes the characteristic sadness and loss of interest in the object of reality which just before had been all absorbing, and this brings about the corresponding perception of the subject. This perception of the subject occurring for the first time *following* the primary perception of the object permits the unconscious feeling of in-

feriority and inadequacy in the face of the overwhelming power of reality to become conscious. It is in this way that the individual gains a perception of the ego. This characteristic subjectivity causes the behavior of the subjective extraverts often to appear similar to, and in certain aspects difficult to distinguish from, the other subjective group which is really its polar opposite. Nevertheless, the basis from which it functions is that of a true extraverted mechanism.

Although loss of interest in the object, caused by the demands of reality, produces a movement towards the subject, an introversion, this does not last long because of the dominance of the self-originating impulses which must impress their creative power upon the world. Either a real effort is made to meet the situation, as well as to take it by storm, and thus bring a fulfilment in reality of the dream; or, as is more frequent, the interest is transferred to something else which again is clothed with the nebulous veil of illusion in which lies all promise, but as yet little fulfilment.

Besides this general tendency to envelop the objects of the external world with the subjectively created phantasies, among this type there may also be found those who make no effort to bring their rich phantasies into reality but live instead in an entirely phantastic and ideal world, to which all the libido is given. This inner world where the ideals of love, beauty and goodness reign is made the object to which the strongest feelings are attached. The relation to this self-created object is the same as to the real objects of sense in the external world; the difference between them is that the former makes no independent demands to which one must submit. Therefore, no adequate grasp of the real world is attained and very little, if any, development of the thought function, which is emotionalized in the highest degree. The psychology of this type is dominated under all conditions by the two subjective functions of feeling and intuition, and the psychic relation to life of the most subjective members is analogous to that of the child who is still in a happy paradise. Certain artists of the purely sub-

jective type and sheltered women who do not have to meet the actual difficulties of life in the outer world, are those who carry this attitude to its farthest extreme and provide those "spiritual" lives which belong to the natural saints.

Diametrically opposed to these persons, although still belonging to the extraverted division, is the other group characterized by its complete objectivity, the objective extravert. That is, instead of projecting subjectively created possibilities on the world of reality, and finding response to wishes through its idealization, sense impressions are received and reacted to directly as a simple equation without any particular feeling response. The function of feeling is scarcely separated out from the original undifferentiated state of the psyche and, therefore, the perception is limited to the simple recognition of the sensory stimulus. The absence of the subjective functions of feeling and intuition renders the reaction between the subject and object a process quite analogous to a mechanical reflex, and the experiencing subject perceives the stimulating object in its simplest terms, as something just pleasant or unpleasant, good or bad, injurious or useful. In other words the fine gradations, the higher psychic perceptions, which arise through the subjective functions are non-existent, and the report of the senses is the sole guide for the organism in its relation to the outer world. As a means of simple organic satisfaction no more is needed. These people are popularly referred to as "lacking in imagination," and generally have simple and concrete minds without subtleties. They are beyond all others the realists and would limit every one to their view of the world, and at the same time they are in the most complete and unredeemed sensual bondage to the external object. This is due to the utilization of the objective function of sensation as the chief means of adaptation and satisfaction of the organism, and the degree of concreteness and objectivity depends upon how exclusively this function dominates consciousness.

From this discussion of these psychological processes it will clearly appear that the main distinctions between the three

extravert types are largely a matter of emphasis and the differentiation of functions and, therefore, among actual people all gradations may be found so that they imperceptibly merge into one another.

In the other great psychological division, the introverts, the major emphasis is found on just the opposite mechanism. It is as though, in these children, the incoming stimuli from the external world overwhelm the primary and passive capacity of perception, and thus the sense impressions make such a profound effect upon the organism that it can only react and attempt assimilation: the other process, that of the self-generated activity, the independent urge of the organism, is correspondingly overshadowed and prevented from direct action. A concrete illustration of this conception would be that of a person on whom heavy blows were being rained in such rapid succession that the chief effort of the victim could only be centered on defending himself and warding off the blows from his most vulnerable parts. He cannot find opportunity to become the attacker in kind because the blows continue ceaselessly. Aggressive action is inhibited. Only if he can discover some subterfuge, some indirect method of a different character can he hope to gain an opportunity to assert himself.[1]

This is just what appears to happen in the simple introvert type. The outward expression in action of the inner self-originating impulses is inhibited through the overpowering

[1] This implies primarily a continuation of the original preoccupation of the libido with the self, which is never relinquished for the purpose of conquering the world without. This inability to satisfactorily transfer the libido can be conceived to have as its external determinant the primary shock and insult of birth which has so profoundly affected the organism, that the alienation persisted, fed by the continuous demands of adaptation required by the external environment. This could cause that intense ego-consciousness and attitude of continuous protection against the external object which characterize the type. Thus the energy of the natural self-originating urges is partly diverted to the defense of self instead of towards obtaining the satisfaction needed through direct action upon the environment. This attitude of defense is expressed through the apparently lessened response to the environment, and shows itself in the generally negative attitude assumed as the first reaction towards all initiative and enterprises proposed by others.

effect of the sensations coming from without, and the necessity of reacting to them; the energy belonging to the urges accumulates and this produces the attempt to find another path for its expression, which shall be a substitute for the path of action. Instead of the accumulating energy remaining choked and blocked until sufficient power is gained to allow it to force its way past the incoming sensations, it searches out another mode for itself, and gradually the function of thought becomes the carrier of the libido attached to the ego. In this way the ego wins for itself a path over which the active independent urge of the organism can travel and at the same time it can perceive and consider itself, and thus preserve itself from being overwhelmed by the sense impressions of the external world which now become less effective. This is active thought and it is used by its possessors as a means of adaptation and of dominating the outer sense impressions of the environment in exactly the same way as the process of direct action operates in the extravert types. In this case perception is in the largest degree occupied with the subject, the ego, which is perceived as independent of and even as antagonistic to the object, for feeling is in the service of the subject.

By this means it is possible for the energies of the self-generated urges of the organism as a whole to be so utilized that no over-accumulation of this energy takes place—the function of thought has achieved its supremacy among the other possible means of adaptation, and becomes for this type the one most adequate for the purpose. This is the true introvert type. He has achieved a fairly smooth adjustment between the mechanisms of reaction to outer stimuli and the inner self-generated forces demanding independent action, through the function of thought. Because of thus finding an objective mode of activity operating on the mental plane which is satisfactory for the purpose, and by following the law of the least expenditure of effort (the law of parsimony), the other possible ways of adapting to and gaining power over external impressions, namely, the subjective ways of feeling and intuition, are left

relatively undeveloped and unused, except as they apply to the ego and the objects of thought created by the subject.

In addition to the simple introvert type are the others I have referred to as the emotional introvert and objective introvert. The objective introvert differs from the above only in the degree of emphasis and differentiation of function. Like his brother, the objective extravert, he is distinguished by the high value given to the function of sensation. The sensory perceptions are practically the sole means of discrimination, and all delicate shadings and nuances belonging either to the subject or to the object are unperceived, for these can only be grasped through feeling. The thought function is used exclusively in the service of reality, for the purpose of adaptation and as a means of gaining power for the ego, instead of in ideal constructions and philosophies. The subjective functions of feeling and intuition are quite undifferentiated and remain in their original form, primitive in character, although outwardly they may be non-existent. Either the object is not recognized as possessing any rights of its own or else a slavish submission is made to it. Introverts of this type in whom the process of development is active, gain their personal value generally through a highly organized and differentiated function of thought which may be very profound though dull and heavy, due to the absence of the subjective functions.

The other introvert type, the emotional introvert as I call him, offers a great contrast to this type, whose lack of feeling for the object is so marked. I suggested that the simple introvert type, characterized by his use of the function of thought as the chief means of adaptation and active self-expression, came to this adaptation from his inability to gain expression for his independent self-generated urges through the primitive path of direct action. With the finding and proper use of the thought mechanism, which is made the bridge to action, he can become quite well adapted and a stable personality. This is not true for the emotional introvert. Owing, perhaps, to greater sensitivity of his organism and, consequently, to greater

intensity of reaction to the overwhelming character of the stimuli from the external world, the self-originated urges are overcome and dammed up in a greater degree; thus neither the path of direct action nor of substitute action through thought can play the dominating rôle as in the simple types. Instead, the energy belonging to the undischarged urges accumulates, and mounts increasingly. This energy, prevented from adequate action by fear and the hostile effect of the incoming sensations from the external world, is forced inward, so that the subjective functions are awakened to a much greater activity than in the simple introvert type. The great need of the organism for independent self-assertion forces the ego sharply away from the outer alien object and compels it to seek in all directions for help in its extremity. This forces up the subjective function of intuition, which is a means of inner perception, just as the objective function of sensation is a means of outer perception.

With the thought process active as in the true introvert, but insufficient to satisfy the increasing pressure of the libido, a part of which still clings to the primitive mode of direct action, the pressure finally becomes strong enough to burst through with a greater intensity and emphasis than the situation requires. Its purpose, however, is the drowning out or overpowering of the incoming sense impressions from the outer objects of reality, and the assertion of its own right to independent functioning through direct action. Feeling is in the service of the subject, and of the object also to a certain extent, according to whether the introverted or extraverted mechanism is active. The extraversion in this type appears as a protest against the overwhelming of the organism by the incoming sensations, against the attack from the world without; instead of the free activity of the extravert types. Therefore, there is nearly always a great sense of being alien and insecure, and this feeling of strangeness is characteristic of this type. However, the ego finally triumphs, but only for a short time; for the effort made and the great amount of energy expended de-

plete the accumulated supply, and these moods of great activity, both through thought and directly in action give way gradually to the former sense of incapacity and inability to handle the never-ceasing incoming impressions and the consequent reactions of the organism. The same inner process of seeking a way of escape and an independent expression for the organism itself then begins all over again.

For this type, as for the true introvert, the path of thought is usually found, for even in a quite undeveloped person the mental mechanism functions definitely in the same way. Nevertheless, it cannot serve the purpose satisfactorily. There is always the desire for the method of direct action through which the organism may impress its wishes on the world. Therefore, all functions which are stimulated by the active energy of the urges are pressed into the service of the ego. Unable to win this satisfaction easily the feeling of antagonism and enmity towards the world increases, the phantasies enlarge and the sense of alienation deepens. Due to this unsatisfactory state of affairs all functions in turn may be used for gaining a sense of power, so that in this type the "will to power" is found in active and perpetual operation.

The thought function bears an entirely different character in the extravert and introvert, as does the relation to the object, the extraversion. Thought does not arise in the extravert as a means of giving expression to his organic self-directing impulses, the urges, for they have found their expression in directly overcoming and dominating the sense impressions of the environment, and have gained their satisfaction through acting immediately upon the objects and conditions. Thought, however, is an inherent capacity or function of man regardless of type, and therefore, has claims of its own. Its primary purpose is to explain the whys and wherefores, to describe his experience and to relate him to the universe. Only when he is confronted with situations which he cannot master through direct action and through his feelings for the object, does he use thought to help him find a practical way out. Thought for

the extravert is an instrument in the service of action, instead of a substitute for action, or a value in itself, as is the case for the introvert. When the extravert becomes a thinker the energy used for thought must be abstracted from the action process, and his difficulty of attaining to abstract thought, existing for its own sake, may be likened to the difficulty of the introvert in expressing himself in direct action. However, when thought becomes supreme in the extravert his relation to the object can become as inadequate and abstracted as that of the introvert thinker.

The thought function of the introvert is used as the primary means of adaptation, for without the thought function he could not adapt at all. It concerns itself with the welfare of the ego, and that which affects its position in the world. Secondarily, it creates ideas and concepts of its own, having no relation to facts; it postulates abstractions and ideal conditions, and obeys wholly other laws than those belonging to external reality. No introvert could ever say with William James, "My thinking is first and last and always for the sake of my doing."

In the subjective extravert type, however, the thought function is occupied with the feeling perception of the object, its idealization, and its translation into form; for its facts are generally clothed with a luminous veil which softens their harsh outlines. Therefore, the thinking of this type also belongs to the tender-minded class equally with that of the introvert. The objective types, both introvert and extravert, come under the category of the tough-minded types, for both treat their material in similar manner, although its character may differ. Both lack the subjective functions which may be in an original undifferentiated state in the unconscious, or, as the result of the experience with life they may have disappeared in the beginning of differentiation, and then play no further part in the psychic activity.

We know that among the psychic functions, supremacy of thought coincides with order, form and lucidity, passing into

rigidity and formalism when feeling is excluded. Supremacy of feeling, on the contrary, gives emotional expression and coincides with freedom, originality, caprice, phantasy and mysticism, often passing into extravagance and vagueness when not disciplined by the intellect or by life's experiences. Supremacy of intuition which frequently characterizes the subjective types gives those flashes of wisdom in thought which lead to new ideas, brilliant conceptions or bizarre notions, or gives those striking and brilliant strokes of action, of audacious daring and unexpected movement which lead to a triumphant result or to complete catastrophe.

This does not mean, however, that these behavior tendencies are created by the psychic functions of thought, of feeling or of intuition; rather are they attributes and modes of response of the particular individual, and indicate the special functions used in the relation between the individual and the environment. This in turn leads to the supremacy of the particular function which then becomes the habitual mode of adaptation of the individual, manifesting itself in all the activities and expressions of his life.

The great psychic distinctions in the individual types which I have attempted to describe and classify can aid in arriving at a comprehension of the differences in thought and perceptions found amongst people of all sorts, and more particularly will throw a light upon the intellectual leaders of mankind, the scientists, philosophers, statesmen, and artists.

For these groups are more highly individualized and, therefore, their type characteristics are more clearly defined, and the positive values belonging to the special functions emphasized in the life are most obvious. Also the weaknesses belonging to the inferior, because less developed, functions are often more repressed or only evident under certain conditions or circumstances.

The breaking up of the great collective humanity into smaller groups, the types, allows some orientation toward the differences and the production of what might be called a type

individualism. In this way the strongest desire of the human being, *i.e.*, to be an individual, to attain individuation, is not thwarted or ignored. By gaining the knowledge that many of the attitudes and reactions which we have considered the most individual expressions of ourselves, are actually type characteristics, and not individual at all, we should be stimulated to discover in what particular our actual individuality is manifested. For to some degree it is present in every one, and there is thus rendered possible a further achievement along the path toward a real individuation which, ultimately attaining to a collectivistic relationship to humanity instead of a collective one, is the higher goal of the human individual.

VI

MASCULINE AND FEMININE PSYCHOLOGY

In the discussion of psychological types I have made no distinction between masculine and feminine psychology, but have given a general picture of the characteristic attitudes and reactions of each type without regard to the distinctive features belonging to each sex. In other words, the type differentiation, as found among men and women, bears no relation to sex distinctions; all types being present among both sexes. For instance, the psychological adaptation of an objective introvert type of man and the same type of woman will be quite similar as far as objective conditions allow, and similar reactions and psychological mechanisms appear regardless of sex.

The confusion existing around the subject of woman and her psychology among the majority of writers, affords a significant commentary on the vagueness and inadequacy of the effort to classify individuals according to anatomical sex distinctions, and Havelock Ellis remarks as the result of the analysis of the mass of opinion he has collected that, "We have not succeeded in determining the radical and essential characters of men and women uninfluenced by external modifying conditions." [1]

The type character of the individual is entirely ignored, for there has been no recognition of this collective distinction for either sex heretofore, and assertions are made from the standpoint of the identification of the woman with the feminine principle, and the man with the masculine principle. The psychology of the individual is considered by many to be wholly determined by the sexual function. Man is exclusively male and woman is exclusively female. On the other hand,

[1] *Man and Woman*, p. 512.

there has arisen a modern tendency which sweeps aside the time-honored distinctions dominating all discussion, as well as the general cultural attitude of the past, and proceeds to act as though sex distinctions played no part at all.

The recognition of the bisexual character of the individual by modern biology suggests a potential basis for the reconciliation of these two widely divergent attitudes—each possesses elements of truth which, pushed to the extreme, leads into error. Certain attributes of the feminine principle are found in men, and certain attributes of the masculine principle are found in women. The type divisions furnish a primary basis for differentiating individuals in general and afford a broad classification for certain reactions and forms of behavior; the sex distinction as a definite factor in the classification of behavior is secondary. It does not change the psychological type but in certain ways it modifies and subtly alters the accent in relation to the various psychological functions.

However, psychoanalysis has not concerned itself with the psychology of types and no writer on this subject has given any consideration to the special psychology of woman as distinct from man. Psychoanalysis has been developed upon the basis of masculine psychology and the reverse of this model has been considered as sufficient for an interpretation of woman's psychology. There has been no recognition that her totally different biological function has created for her a very specific set of psychological problems.

Many of the concepts which Freud considers most important in support of his theory and which largely determine the interpretations of dreams and symptom manifestations, have absolutely nothing to do with women or girl children. In a discussion intended to refute Adler's theory of "the masculine protest" Freud revealed his tendency to disallow the female child her equal place with the male, and in his argument really went beyond Adler's theory of the "masculine protest." For it suggests an actual condition in place of Adler's purely symbolic meaning for his term, used to cover a tendency everywhere

evident in both men and women. Freud says the understanding of the psychic life of the child is the foundation for the understanding of the adult, whether neurotic or normal; and

> it can easily be disproved that the masculine or feminine child builds its plan of life on any original undervaluation of the feminine sex. In the beginning no child has even an inkling of the significance of the difference of sex.

And he then concludes that "more likely it starts with the assumption that both sexes possess *the same (male) genital.*" [1] There is obviously no recognition of the fact that at least half the children of the world are female and therefore could not consider themselves as possessing the male genital; certainly the girl, in assuming that both sexes possess the same, must take it to be the female. Continuing his discussion Freud states,

> There are women in whose neurosis the wish to be a man never played any part. So far as the masculine protest is concerned it can easily be traced back to a disturbance of the original narcissism caused by the threat of castration; that is to say, the first hindrance to sexuality.

This is the extraordinary argument which Freud offers as a refutation of Adler's theory of "masculine protest," and it is constantly made use of in psychoanalytic interpretations. Further, this castration complex is quite generally applied to women as well as men, regardless of the fact that, of course, this threat is never made to a girl child, and that there are many boys who have never heard of it. Consequently, to attribute the fear of boys, not to mention girls, so universally to this complex, seems rather far-fetched.

The "masculine protest" which symbolically expresses the insistence of the ego "for a place under the sun" is certainly found among women as well as men, and in my experience

[1] Freud: *The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement.* Italics my own.

quite as frequently. Only by making an actual identification of sexuality with the ego desires can this be interpreted as an expression of a "castration complex" or "the first hindrance to sexuality." This latter phrase reveals an attempt to use castration as a symbol in the same way that "masculine protest" is used, but the arbitrary choice of this term as a symbol forces upon the individual a reality experience which may have no basis in fact, and, despite the efforts of Freudian analysts, possesses no clear individual significance when applied to women.

It is true Freud says that actual castration threats cannot be held accountable for all these fears which he finds in men, but he suggests as an explanation that this fear is a remnant of a phylogenetic experience in which actual castration was probably practised by primitive man.

However, in order to keep the theory consistent this matter of experience either phylogenetic or ontogenetic appears unnecessary when women are concerned. They merely identify themselves with the male, and are envious of their brother's "large and visible penis"; [1] they believe that the reason that they are different is because they have already been castrated or else this idea is associated with the breast. By such ingenious phantasies the Freudian analysts force the same theories on women which they have accepted for their own sex, regardless of the fact that the justification offered for the idea has no reality whatever for women.

Freud also notes that "the sexual instincts and instincts of self-preservation do not behave similarly when they are confronted with the necessities of actuality." But he does not mention the meaning of this, which lies in the fact that they are not comparable, because mutually antagonistic. This would become clearer if he would speak of instincts of race preservation or reproduction, and thus allow to these sexual instincts their biological significance as freely as he grants this to the ego instincts. Then it would be realized that in woman the

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 267.

instincts of self-preservation have been frequently sacrificed in the interest of the instincts of reproduction, whereas for man just the opposite situation has arisen. During the course of his development the instincts of self-preservation have dominated the instincts of reproduction—the sexual instinct has come into the service of the ego.

In associating the sexual instinct exclusively with the pleasure principle and making the two almost synonymous in fact, Freud ignores its psychological significance for woman and loses sight of her peculiar and complex problems.

The utilization of sexuality by woman wholly in the service of pleasure and independent of reality could not proceed along the easy path open to male sexual desire. Nature herself, in associating it inseparably for woman with responsibility and pain, placed an inhibition upon her sexual freedom and the exercise of this function solely in the service of pleasure. Motherhood, a very serious reality problem for her to which she often sacrificed her life, became the only condition in later times which was honorably allowed to serve her as a substitute for both the masculine sexual pleasure and the individual ego satisfaction. These facts forced the consideration of the reality principle upon the sexual desire of woman. Furthermore, the actual suppression of sexual desire is greater in woman than in man owing to the cultural standards of our era which has regarded the pleasure component as disgraceful in the sexuality of woman. Nevertheless, woman has actually suffered more from the suppression of the ego than from the suppression of her normal sexual desires.

It is not possible to discuss woman's psychology without taking into consideration the conditions under which she has lived and developed. They have markedly differed from those of man.

There are strongly marked in the masculine mind two attitudes towards woman, neither of which conforms to reality itself. One is the exaltation of woman as mother, the modern version of the antique and Eastern culture in which the mother

goddesses were the objects of worship. Goethe is a modern who gives poetic expression to this attitude.

> Against my will
> A lofty mystery I now disclose.
> Hear! Goddesses exist who sit enthroned
> In lofty solitude—sublime—alone,
> And round them neither Space nor Time exist.
> To speak of them in any way—disturbs;
> They are—*The Mothers!* [1]

Whenever man wishes to be idealistic about woman, he grows eloquent over this, her great purpose and her meaning for him. He speaks of her aid, her faith in him and her love and devotion as the great influence and power in his life. If she is a normal woman according to the masculine concept, *i.e.*, remains wholly dominated by natural instinct, this eulogy is supposed to compensate her for her lack of individual values and through this her ego is presumed to find its entire satisfaction and meaning.

The other attitude, however, presents a sharp contrast to this idealistic picture. The exaltation of the mother placed man in a position subordinate to woman and created in him a great need for emancipation from her power. This liberation could only be achieved by dividing the woman image into two aspects; one remained mother—woman exalted and superior; the other became woman separated from motherhood, merely female and inferior. In this way it became possible for man to project his feelings of inferiority on to woman and thus he could escape from the painful sense of his own weakness and helplessness. This use of woman as a symbol of the inferior aspect of himself, seen even to-day in reference to certain weaknesses of his character as womanish or feminine, must be recognized as a psychological necessity.

We know from psychoanalytic experience that projection on to others is the almost universal unconscious mechanism by

[1] The Faust quotations used in this book are translated by Alice Raphael.

which individuals rid themselves of their own incapacities and "sins," and bears no relation to the actual situation in the other persons. He or she may or may not possess the attributes or qualities projected but in some way the object can serve as the symbol and, for the one needing to project, this is all that is necessary. Therefore, for man striving to raise himself from the overpowering sense of inferiority in the presence of the powers of the natural world, something like himself but which could be made less than himself can be conceived to have been a necessity for his advance from the identification with nature. He must be superior to something. Therefore, as woman was the embodiment of nature, the instinctive being, she became a creature of small desires, a tempter of man, the cause of all his woes, a disturber of his lofty thoughts, herself incapable of thought, uneducable—and now—to-day, when she too is struggling to overcome instinct, selfishly sacrificing the race and the home. In the effort to gain some definite support for these projections modern man even sought the aid of science and discovered that woman's brain was smaller than man's, and that she possessed certain physiological differences; hence, with himself as the unit of superiority, she must be inferior.

However, the exaltation of woman as mother and the abasement of her as individual reveal her pivotal position in relation to man; through this division in his feelings towards her, the basis of the conflict and struggle which has revolved around her and has intimately affected her becomes clearly visible.

Let us examine more critically this much idealized human motherhood. In what actual way does it differ from the maternal instinct in all animal creation? Could any human mother exceed the devotion and care which my cat, who has just produced her first family, expends on her offspring? For the first two weeks she scarcely left them except for food and to attend to her toilet. This fulfilled, there was an anxious hurrying back to the attic where her family awaited her. Then how endless were the washings and lickings that her offspring received! How complete the abandonment of herself

to their nursings, as she stretched out and rolled over in a position to make her nipples as accessible as possible. Then after the kittens were old enough to be brought down stairs, how indefatigable were her efforts to lead them to the saucer of milk, to teach them cleanly habits! How solicitous she became if a slight cry issued from one of them. And always, when night came, how painstakingly she coaxed and helped them upstairs back to their original bed.

Could any human mother do more for her child? The same maternal instinct of self-sacrifice and care for the young can be found everywhere in nature, and everywhere it is equally worthy of the wonder and admiration of man. For here in this great maternal instinct we have the origin of all altruism and the first instinctive form of that later human ideal of the sacrifice of the one for others. All honor to beautiful motherhood wherever found, but it is honoring nature and worshiping a symbol when man exalts motherhood as woman's crowning glory. He is in no way paying honor to woman as an individual like unto himself, but to a great reality of nature which he idealizes because it is so far removed from his own capacities, and because at one time of his life he also partook of its benefits and shared in its sweetnesses.

This idealization and symbolization of a function common to all women is accountable for the general lack of differentiation in the love of man. Any woman will serve as a purely sexual object since all women are potential mothers. Therefore, instead of the one and only woman, it is quite common to hear man admit his numerous attractions towards many, any one of whom would have been welcomed as his wife, other material considerations being equal.

Also, just as man in his love towards woman is generally undifferentiated, so woman's love is generally differentiated towards man. The tendency of woman is to choose a particular man. Through her more adapted function of feeling she chooses most frequently a man belonging to her complementary type, less it would seem for her own individual welfare than

unconsciously in the service of the race. For, to woman, this is the reality of all realities; to man it is but a symbol that he loves, the ideal; and to the reality of woman, he is still as badly adapted as woman has been to the world created by him.

Biologic woman is a wholly creative creature, her one business in life being to reproduce and keep the species alive and continuous. Even in these modern days when such tremendous changes and transformations are taking place in woman herself, and when marriage and the bondage it entails are so often repudiated, there are no women except the psychically abnormal or crippled who do not meet the longing for a child at some time or other. This longing appears in no uncertain terms, but as a deep imperious urge of her profoundest being. From the standpoint of nature this is her whole meaning and her great business. She is, therefore, from this angle a purely collective creature used by life for its purpose, her own individual self playing but a minor and insignificant rôle save as it contributes to the chief aim of her existence.

This is not so for man, however; his part in the collective life process is a minor one. He fertilizes the ovum and in a few moments his share is completed; and with the ending of his part, the real task and burden for the woman has begun. All her energies and capacities are involved in this one great purpose, the carrying and bearing, the nurturing and rearing of the new being. No wonder Freud says, "We must not confuse sexuality with the reproductive process." This is the general masculine attitude based on the actual condition of man's relation to the function.

From the purely physiological standpoint it is well recognized that for woman the sexual impulse possesses an entirely different character than for man. Instead of being confined and concentrated in the sexual organs as is the case with man, it is diffused over the entire organism. Therefore, for woman herself the various preliminary activities, caressing, petting—what women call loving, and what Freud calls fore-pleasure activities—are frequently the most important part of

the sexual process. They are often more important than the final act itself, which for her means symbolically, if not actually, the beginning of her reality function. For man the final deposit of the semen is the goal towards which he is borne and which is the summation of his desire. Therefore, for him the sexual act tends towards an immediate end, but for woman the end is delayed and deferred—a playing and a postponing of the final act of surrender, when she, as an individual, succumbs to the sacrifice of herself and is merged in the all-embracing will of nature.

It is the psychic aspect of all this, the effect upon her psychic organism, that has made woman the mysterious, unknowable and extraordinary creature which she has seemed to man—at one and the same time a lure and a torment. For the mysterious work that goes on in her body, culminating in the bringing forth of a new being like himself and yet not himself, is still the unfathomable secret to him. He has scarcely realized that she also possesses the germ of an individual need and apart from her collective function is a self-conscious being with longings and desires of her own. This violation of her personality has resulted in the greatest injury to woman; it has retarded her psychic development and fostered the infantile and instinctive reactions which are deemed her special characteristics. Only in the present day has come the necessity for her to find an individual path for herself and therefore her neuroses and weaknesses are seen to be chiefly concerned with this problem.

In order to bring some understanding to this subject, it is necessary to take a backward look to realize the instinctive bondage out of which all humanity has struggled to emerge. The fact that no individual relationships, as we know them to-day, existed in primitive times can be realized by the observation of collective relationships still existing among many primitive tribes. The group or clan takes the place of the individual, and in the organization all women of the group are

called mother and all men father. For primitive woman, whose rule by right of motherhood probably long dominated the race, and whose complete identification with life-giving nature offered no opportunity for dissatisfactions or restless individual longings, this collective condition can be conceived as acceptable. Primitive man had no share in this her completeness and, therefore, he was forced to seek a path for himself, a way of freedom from the absorption of himself in the maternal greatness, or pass the way of all other animals.

An impression of man's position in all this primitive and important life of woman can be gained even to-day from his attitude and feeling during the birth of a child, helpless, inferior, supernumerary, and incidental. The peculiar custom of the couvade [1] among many primitive peoples can be understood only when the importance of woman in primitive life is realized. Here there is definitely an organized attempt on the part of the man to identify himself with the woman and her function so that he simulates her pains and anguish. When she brings forth the child he takes to his bed and requires for himself the attention and care that we think of as belonging to the woman. But in these cases the father is the one who receives the attention and upon whom the woman waits as well as upon her child. Even to-day it is not very uncommon for man to reveal his longing and wish to possess this creative function of woman; this often appears definitely both in phantasy and dream during the analytic process. However, in lieu of the organs and mechanisms of nature's all-important creative process given to woman, man was endowed with the capacity for individual creation leading to his freedom and power. No surrender and subjugation of himself to a biological task was required of man by nature; therefore his ego could triumph over the biological aspect of the sexual impulse and subordinate it to his individual purposes.

If the surmise is correct that the dawning self-consciousness with the concomitant sexual domination of woman—that

[1] Wundt: *Elements of Folk Psychology*, p. 198.

is, the disregarding of the female limitation of sexual activity to the necessities of pregnancy—were the beginning of man's emergence from the animal state or, at least, from his identification with and submission to nature's laws, then it is clearly understandable that his first great resistance must have been against the mother. For she was the particular representative of nature and repeated in her organism the dark heavy brooding processes associated with fertility. With this great change in the sexual realm the domination of woman began, and at the same time began for man that greater diffusion and transference to non-sexual forms of the creative impulse which its partial separation from the physiological reality function made possible. This can be conceived as the beginning of the creative activity of man. Through self-consciousness and the use of the sexual impulse entirely in the service of pleasure, with the consequent overthrow of the feminine power, the particular psychic functioning in which creative phantasy and symbol formation have their source, became possible for him. Now he had obtained everything that woman had, but transferred to another sphere, one particularly human. At the same time he had retained his individual ego in the ascendancy and could utilize it to conquer the outer reality of the world, to impress his will on matter, and to overcome the forces of Mother Nature herself.

Woman from the beginning was bound to reality by biologic necessity. The very fact of her maternity, with all its attendant tasks associated with the rearing and nurture of the child determined this condition. Therefore among all accounts of primitive peoples we find the woman the steady worker, the original creator of all the utilitarian arts, the provider of food and clothing for the family, the one who played the chief rôle in everything concerned with the home and practical needs.

Levy-Bruhl [1] points out that almost everywhere among primitive peoples, the work of agriculture falls "mainly upon

[1] *Primitive Mentality*, Chapter X, Part 2, Allen and Unwin, translated by L. A. Clare.

women, without prejudice to their other tasks, such as the care of the children and the preparation of food." He shows that the origin of this unequal division of labor is a mystical one and says:

> If women are almost exclusively burdened with all that pertains to the cultivation of plants and trees it is because, in the social group, they represent the principle of fertility. In order that the field and the trees under cultivation may be productive, there must be a close relation, a participation, established between them and the social group which attends them; the principle of fertility must pass over to these objects, and consequently the members of the group must have it within themselves. It would be useless for the men to take as much trouble in the fields as the women, useless, even if they took more trouble, and expended more force upon the ground, or sowed and transplanted with as much or even greater care.

It was man whose activities were sporadic and discontinuous and who was largely under the domination of the immediate pleasure principle. It was man who had to struggle to adapt to the reality principle, and one can easily see in a study of human activity, extending from primitive times to our own civilization, how man has gradually taken from woman, developed and elaborated all the industries and utilitarian arts that she began and utilized in their primitive form. Woman was constantly occupied with the practical use of these things whereas man had the free libido and leisure to experiment with them; thus also he could plan the elaborate laws and regulations by which the primitive tribes were controlled and developed. Pinard remarks that "women under natural conditions would never menstruate"; therefore with constant pregnancies and nursing, and the entire domestic care of the family, she certainly had little free time or unoccupied energy compared with man, for the development and progress open to the male.

Differentiation and the beginning of conscious individualization could not be achieved under the absolute sway of nature

and therefore the mother, the personification of nature, represents the great power against which man had to struggle. Through the pages of his history one may read, in the cruel wrongs inflicted upon woman and on the child, the intensity of the conflict.

It is this terrible struggle to drag himself free from the power of nature, personified by the maternal warmth and care, for the purpose of an individual life, which has occupied untold ages of human existence, and which is repeated ontogenetically in each child to-day, *for whom the family identification replaces the tribal.* This is the psychological process which Freud calls the resistance against the incest wish—the Œdipus complex. Freud, who first made use of this symbol, does not hold that this wish is symbolic, but insists that it should be taken concretely as an actual wish for sexual congress with the mother, as an end in itself, only lacking the quality of consciousness. Nevertheless, a sympathetic study and visualization of the early history of mankind, together with the present, cannot fail to reveal that, for man as well as woman, the mother holds more important values than that of a sexual object. A sexual object can be obtained freely anywhere, whereas the particular memories and impressions of early childhood, bound up with the mother, are those of her tenderness and care during the period of his helplessness. She is the food-giver and the supplier of physical comfort, which embraces the totality of life at that period.

That his infantile sexual disposition is also most intimately associated with the mother follows as a matter of course, for she really forms his world and satisfies all his desires. It is the giving up of this early memory with the sacrifice of his infantile yearning associated with the family that parallels the actual condition from which the primitive adult had to wean himself in order to achieve separation from an original identity with nature and to establish the principle of individuality. It was against that primary bond of original union with the mother, symbolized in the ancient Asiatic maternal

cults by continuous cohabitation (Jung), that man had to defend himself and against which the great barrier of repression was originally raised. In this bondage even at the present day, man is still struggling. This is what Freud conceives of as the incest barrier.

But one may inquire why the problem appears in this sexual form since there is no evidence anywhere that actual incest with the mother was a general custom of self-conscious mankind. Therefore, this cannot be based on a phylogenetic experience of the race. Actual incest with the sister was an entirely different matter, and there is much evidence in regard to this. But the relation with the mother is bound up intimately with the first organic satisfactions which precede the specific sexual desires. These organic satisfactions belong particularly to the ego and, as masculine sexuality is bound up with pleasure gratification solely, it also remains in the service of the ego, and therefore can *become a symbol of man's power over woman.* A phase of this is demonstrated even among women in those cases where the woman is suffering from a marked inferiority and can only obtain sexual satisfaction by occupying man's position. Among men also the opposite aspect can be found; those who prefer to occupy the woman's position and in the frequent dream or phantasy of sexual congress with the mother this motive is revealed over and over again.

The apparently easy path to power is to have *sexual congress with the mother,* thus replacing the father. This drama is very clearly enacted among certain primitive tribes which in their culture reveal so much lost to our more rational minds. The initiation of the Hottentot youths who as children are taken away from their mothers and sisters is definitely directed towards complete separation from the mother power. In the ceremony the youth is taught he has no mother. When he comes through the final initiation he takes her in intercourse, and by this proves that she has now become for him an ordinary woman. Through this act he dominates her and so overcomes the bondage of his relation to her.

However, this achievement can only prove to be a negation of his power, because the mother is the primal fact and, therefore, possesses the original power over him. As a matter of fact there can be no actual separation of the sexual desires from the ego desires in relation to the mother, and consequently around her is ultimately enacted his entire conflict of love and power on the instinctual level.

The Œdipus legend, in its larger interpretation, clearly presents this double-sided working of fate. For here it is shown how the natural man, dominated by instinct (fate) is unconsciously led to his doom. The sphinx—the mysterious creature —half-human, half-animal, all-powerful, with the face and breasts of a woman (the mother), the rest of the body an animal (undifferentiated and impersonal power), devoured all who could not answer her riddle. The answer to the riddle related to the recognition of man by himself; in other words, to his consciousness of himself as separate from the oneness of undifferentiated and unself-conscious life. When that could be realized, then the power of the Sphinx was destroyed. Œdipus solved the riddle; he recognized himself as separate from nature, and the Sphinx destroyed herself. Thereupon he became the hero who took upon himself the great human struggle of individual differentiation, the struggle of man to deliver himself from the purely animal nature in which his physical organism held him. He had to proceed along two paths formed by the two great trends of all animal life. Through self-awareness the sexual impulse becomes identified with feelings of personal satisfaction affording pleasure to the ego or individual aspect of the personality.

In the Œdipus legend, the unknown father, Laius, interferes with the "right of way"; he blocks the path of the son. Thereupon the son kills him. The ego or individual masculine principle of the son triumphs over the father but this triumph leads him to his eventual doom. He now becomes king in his father's stead through espousing the queen, his unknown mother. The

incestuous relation with the mother temporarily gives him power. He gains control over her who originally possessed a natural control over him, and at the same time turns back to the original source of his being and is possessed by it. For a time all seems well, but the plague appears over the land, announcing that there is a destructive power at work. Œdipus begins to be disturbed with forebodings. He remembers the prophecy of the oracle. Jocasta, the mother, does not wish to know—for her there is no problem here, and so she attempts to quiet him and lull his fears. She tells him "many men *dream* of bed with their mother." But Œdipus bears within himself the striving, restless, male principle. He *must know,* even though knowledge leads him to destruction. It is also the way of emancipation. Therefore, he persists in his efforts to discover the secret. He gains the knowledge of his crime and, with the consciousness of his fate fulfilled, he blinds himself and goes forth into the world a helpless child. Through this act, he surrenders his power, and indicates his humility before the power of destiny. Thus in the tragic fate of Œdipus there is revealed the problem of mankind in all its greatness and overwhelming dominion.

The intense and deeply subjective relationship between the son and mother makes it possible to understand man's great fear of woman; this fear, which lies deep in his soul, is the cause of his ruthless subjection of her, of his unending effort to overcome the danger of his own surrender and absorption in her passive and luring depths. Euripides voiced this fear when he said, "The most invincible of all things is a woman."

The biological analogy of this dangerous relationship can be found in the fate of the hungry male germinal cell, the spermatozoön, which actively seeks the female cell, the ovum, only to become enclosed and its original form lost within the female cell body.

This instinctive attitude of fear and dread of woman on the one side, and of attraction and desire towards her on the other, may provide an explanation for the ambivalent character of

the emotions of man which a psychological insight into human relations reveals so clearly. The primal fear of woman in man is an inherent subjective fear, associated with the ego aspect of the individual and has nothing to do with the objective physical relationship. On the other hand woman's fear of man is entirely an objective and secondary condition brought about by the long ages of subjection and repression of her individual ego function imposed upon her by man. This can be said to be the basis of the sex antagonism around which so much discussion has revolved.

I have referred to the domination of the woman by the man as originating in the sexual sphere coincident with his greater freedom and indolence in respect to primitive reality. With this outer domination of woman, and the elevation of man to the position of master and head of the family, the children came to be particularly subject to the father's authority. When we realize what a terrible and cruel power this has been, it is not easy to compare the child's relation to the father with that to the mother. Under the rule of the father, the helpless child was regarded as so much property to be disposed of as he desired. Infanticide and the selling of children were common practices. Of those children allowed to live, the boys came under an exclusively masculine influence and were particularly identified with the father. This condition may be observed among those primitive tribes where the boys and men possess separate houses, and where all the male children of the tribe are separated at an early age from the women. Thus brought up, the great aim of the younger generation as it pressed upon the heels of the older could be nothing other than the emulation of the power of the father and if possible, his actual surpassing. If allowed a natural development this would lead to the final overthrow of the father and his replacement by the son—Freud says in order to win the mother —but I would say to dominate the woman and win his emancipation from her through the repetition of his father's relation with her. This, however, is forbidden and the son can replace

the father only through a surrogate for her. To protect himself from this overthrow by the son, the father created the severest of laws, giving himself supreme authority which, as late as the Roman republic, gave him absolute power of life and death over his children even when grown.

For the girl there was no corresponding domination by the mother. As far as external power and force were concerned, she also was under the absolute control and disposition of the father. Just as the son's aim was to dominate the mother as the father had done before him, the daughter's was to submit to the father, also as the mother had done. For her, fulfilment came only through bearing the child, and therefore she must rival the mother and wrest from her the favor of the father. Only thus could she obtain consideration from him, for her value was solely a sexual one to him, and she passed from the possession and power of the father into the possession and power of the husband chosen by him for her. Therefore, the girl from infancy was afraid of the power of the father. This is why, in the woman, one finds, over and over again, the father represented as the fear object even when the actual father has given nothing but love and care to his children. The girls in earlier times were considered of little value, and female infanticide, as is well known, was a common practice. Contrary to Freud's thesis, the father showed a marked preference for sons instead of daughters, and the mother had little control over the disposition of the children.

A story quoted by Robertson Smith in his *Kinship and Marriage* illustrates the general regard in which daughters were held by the fathers: Quays, a chieftain of the Arab tribes, contemporary with Mohammed, after putting all his daughters to death for a refusal of one to leave the husband who had captured her, relates that while he was away, his wife bore a daughter which she put away in care of relatives, in fear of the father. When he returned the mother told him she had borne a dead child.

Years after when the child had grown up, she came to visit her mother and while the two were together they were discovered by Quays. "I came in," related Quays himself to Mohammed, "and saw the girl; her mother had plaited her hair, and put rings in her side locks and strung them with sea shells and put on a chain of cowries, and given her a necklace of dried dates. I said: 'Who is this pretty girl?' and her mother wept and said, 'She is your daughter,' and told me how she had saved her alive. So I waited until the mother ceased to be anxious about her; then I led her out one day, dug a pit and laid her in it, she crying, 'Father, what are you doing with me?' Then I covered her up with the earth and still she cried, 'Father, are you going to bury me? Are you going to leave me alone and go away?' But I went on filling in the earth till I could hear her cries no longer, and that is the only time I felt any pity when I buried a daughter."

To compare the relation of the daughter to the father with that of the son to the mother can only be done by a complete ignoring of the actual relation of the father to the child in primitive life and indeed through the greatest civilizations. This relation is graphically presented again in an account of the marriage customs of some Victorian tribes.

A man having a daughter of thirteen or fourteen years of age, arranges with some elderly person for the disposal of her, and when all are agreed she is brought and told that her husband wants her. Perhaps she has never seen him but to loathe him. The father carries a spear and a waddy, and anticipating resistance is thus prepared for it. The poor girl sobbing and sighing and muttering words of complaint, claims pity from those who will show none. If she resists the mandate of her father, he strikes her with his spear; if she rebels and screams, the blows are repeated; and if she attempts to run away, a blow on the head from the waddy quiets her. The mother screams and scolds and beats the ground with her han-nan (fighting stick), the dogs bark and whine, but nothing interrupts the father who, in the performance of his duty, is strict and mindful of the necessity of not only enforcing his authority but of showing to

> all that he has the means to enforce it. Seizing the bride by her long hair he drags her to the home prepared for her by her new owner. Further resistance often subjects her to more brutal treatment. If she attempts to abscond, the bridegroom does not hesitate to strike her savagely on the head with his waddy, and the bridal screams and yells make the night hideous.[1]

We know that among all peoples where man has had complete power, the children have suffered under these conditions. It can scarcely be supposed that the girl would have much affection for her father for whom she existed as a piece of property to be disposed of as he saw fit. For her he could only have an unconscious meaning of a totally different character from that of the son for his mother. The son's love was based upon the fact that the mother is the source of his life, so that it was his individual and personal self that was involved with his love for the mother. But with the girl no individual relation to the father of like nature existed and for her the only connection with the father could be in the service of her maternal instinct. Through this means only her desire for power was symbolized and in the struggle to supersede the mother we find the analogy to the struggle between son and father. Indeed I have seen this ancient motive expressed in the phantasies and behavior of my women patients over and over again. The winning of the father is definitely the winning of power from the mother and, for the woman, bearing a child signifies maturity in the realm of instinct, just as the capacity for coitus signifies maturity for the man. Where the individual psychological need arises, it is the mother that is longed for as much by the woman as by the man. A frequent phantasy of a patient of mine expresses this relation beautifully. She feels herself lying face downward on the earth in a groove between two hillocks or in the bed of a small stream with the bank rising up on each side. In this position in phantasy she remains for some time and gains a vivid feel-

[1] George Henry Payne: *The Child in Human Progress*, p. 29.

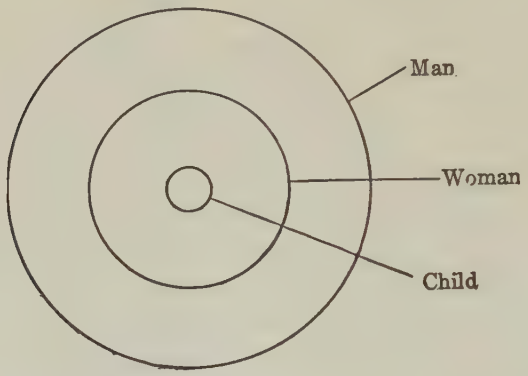
ing of rest and of renewed energy enabling her to carry on with fresh power her active and full life. Little imagination is required to recognize the significance of this phantasy of lying on the bosom of mother earth; its analogy to the actual lying of the child on the bosom of the mother from whom refreshment and sustenance are gained is clearly revealed.

Although the maternal function of woman has always been recognized by man as supplying his greatest need, it appears that the more his culture and power increased up to a certain point, the more scornful he grew of woman; which is equivalent to saying the more intense the resistance against the mother became. He would egotistically have liked to ignore her altogether, or since that was impossible, for she gave him birth, to make of her only a slave to his power and superiority, entirely dependent upon him for her life both here and hereafter. In the oriental world, woman's sole function was to be a slave to man and the mother of his children; her existence after death depended upon his generosity in taking her with him. Indeed, as is well known, as recently as the sixth century of the Christian era we have the men in solemn conclave discussing the question of woman's possession of a soul. Even the biological form of creation, so peculiarly woman's great contribution to the world, was questioned. In the words of the great Apollo, "Not to the mother is the child indebted for life, she tends and guards the spark the father lighted, she but holds his pledge, and woman is but the nurse."

The extraordinary thing in all this, from our modern standpoint, is that the woman, who probably held all power in her hands originally, accepted this subjugation by man and surrendered to him. But it must be remembered that for woman, not as an individual but as the embodiment of the feminine principle, surrender was the very meaning of her existence. She had to surrender her individual will to the imperious call of the great mother, whom she represented. She was a collective being and therefore surrender to man the egotist, the embodiment of the individual principle, followed when the demand

and the pressure were made upon her. Man became for the woman the symbol of the power of the human will, the way out of the bondage to nature, and the one to whom she looked to save her. She had not learned that the strong despise the weak, and that no individual salvation can be won except through the efforts of the individual himself.

The relation of the man and woman and the child could be represented diagrammatically by the circles thus:



The outermost circle represents the masculine principle, with all outside it the external reality of the concrete world upon which he imposes his will. The inner circle is the feminine principle; when man looks outward he sees the world, when he looks inward he sees the woman and her child. His escape from her is into the world. The woman, however, looking outward sees the man, through whom only she touches the outer world of reality and whose favor she must seek to gain her wishes. Within lies the child, the meaning and purpose of her being. The helplessness of the child and the sacrifice of her individual desires to its interest inevitably produced in her the greatest emphasis upon the subjective functions of feeling and intuition; the function of directed and abstract thought was the least needed by her in her biological

adaptation. The general, diffused character of her sexuality as opposed to the clear, defined impulse of man, can also be considered as a factor in the development of the major impulses of love and service which have always been considered the particular characteristics of woman.

On the other hand, woman, although preferring to rely upon man to symbolize and meet the outer reality, soon found that, when it came to a choice between her desires and needs and his, hers were considered only when they did not conflict with his. Following a natural psychological law, that whatever can be dominated becomes inferior and something therefore to be despised or, with more generous natures patronized and pitied, woman gradually fell into a weaker and more servile position, and the gulf between the sexes widened and deepened. Some idea of the deplorable condition between the sexes and the depths of degradation into which woman was pushed by the conflict and revolt of man projected on to her can be gained from Tertullian's famous words:

> Woman, thou art the gate of Hell. Thou ought always to be dressed in mourning and in rags—thine eyes filled with tears of repentance to make men forget that thou art the destroyer of the race.

It is hard for us to realize that this was the attitude of earnest and serious men in our Western world at the beginning of our era, and for a long time afterward. Certainly such a condition deserves some real effort at understanding, for let no one think that this superior attitude of collective man no longer exists, or that the effect of this age-long oppression has disappeared and left no mark on the soul of woman. This ancient problem was voiced by Ismane when she tries to dissuade Antigone from defying Creon's decree.

> We needs must bear in mind we are but women,
> Never created to contend with men;

Nay more, made victims of resistless power,
To obey behests more harsh than this to-day.

No psychology or psychological interpretation can do justice to collective and modern woman that ignores this factor.

The insistence of man through the ages on woman's submission to him and on her inability to become anything but an instinctive creature; and his wish, on the other hand, for those traits and characteristics in her which appeal to his vanity and lure and entice his sexual desires, have hatched a brood of unfortunate tendencies in her and have inhibited the expression on a higher plane of many instinctive traits which, through the slow ages of man's cultural development, have found in him a more desirable and human form of expression. As a result of her subjugation, there gradually developed one of the most far-reaching and enslaving aspects of woman's psychology, the tendency to dissemble, to deceive and to resort to subterfuge. For, as woman's power through motherhood waned, she found there was just one way that she could gain the favor of her lord, and that was through her attraction for him as a purely sexual object in the service of his pleasure. I refer to that prostitution of sexuality indulged in by woman since earliest times for the purpose of gaining some power for herself and a consideration otherwise denied her. It is impossible for man ever to realize the extent to which this has been carried on by women of all classes from the most respected wife down to the common prostitute of the street. So inherent and general has the tendency become to deceive man in regard to her own sexual feelings that for woman this can be said to be almost second nature. This use of her sexual attraction for man in the service of her individual needs and desires in the world of man's reality is definitely and openly acknowledged by the existence of the prostitute. And just as one can obtain an insight into the normal physiological and psychological processes through a study of the pathological, so one can obtain an insight into the normal sex problems of woman by studying

the abnormal. In female prostitution one can definitely see the operation in weak characters of the egotistic or individual desire for self-gratification on the level of sensation alone. The prostitute type of woman remains purely female with a desire for pleasure gratification of the same order as exists in man. Unable or unwilling to deal with the objective world, man's reality, in man's way, to win from it the satisfaction of her individual needs, she prostitutes her most important function to gratify man and so win from him the means to satisfy the pleasures she craves.

Woman's sensuous indolence, her love of finery and of beauty and ease is the counterpart of man's love of comfort, of adventure, of self-indulgence, the love of power and freedom, which have been his to gain and enjoy; but she, always under the domination and will of her master, be it father or husband, and therefore always subject to his ideas and control of her person according to his preconceived notion or his wish about her, was allowed no freedom to express what she really felt herself to be or to desire.

This state of affairs in which woman was regarded by man as the temptress, playing upon his lowest nature, an entirely sexual being either catering to his passions or "only" mother of his children, and having no part in his highest ideals, was her position at the height of Greek culture when the love for woman was repudiated in favor of the love for man. The Greek matron, to be sure, was respected as the mother of the future Greek citizens; marriage was a compulsory state affair and bachelors were fined. Although she had not fallen to the degraded condition she occupied in the early Christian era, nevertheless she was only tolerated as a mother. It was only the woman who had broken away from the domination of man and who chose to follow her own life whether that led finally to motherhood, or to courtesanship in which she remained in command of herself, whom man was able to treat as an equal. Therefore the hetaira at Athens, the foreign women who were independent of the Greeks, gained for themselves the respect

and admiration of the men and were their companions—not the wives who were subject to the men and to the completely masculine Greek state.

Aristotle voiced the cultural tendency of his time when he said: "The feminine principle is the mother of the body, but the mother of the spirit is male." Man had won by this time that great development of thought and creative expression in art which was the glory of Greece and has not since been excelled. The masculine principle had forged its way to the highest peak on that path and, as a result, we find the hermaphroditic symbol arising in Greece as the expression of the completion of that phase of man's development. Man had been so busy fighting his own way to freedom that he had little recognition and no consideration of any of woman's needs. "The feminine principle is the mother of the body"—that was all and it was enough; her dissatisfactions and discontent, therefore, were put down to the unworthy character of woman, so created by nature and still so considered by many men of to-day. Her love was treated with contempt and, as a love object, she was unfavorably compared with the beautiful youths with whom the cultured Greeks formed their love alliances.

In the *Symposium,* Plato discourses on spiritualized love; the division of Eros into two aspects, the lower and the higher.

> The slave of his senses runs after women, but he who loves with his soul and strives to win immortality through virtue and wisdom, seeks a great and beautiful soul that he may surrender himself to it completely.

The undeveloped character of woman in general and the cultural attitude of society which saw actual motherhood as her only possible capacity, prevented the ideal feminine principle from being projected upon her as object by man. Further, as some one has said, the matriarchal period was probably not far enough away to have eliminated the fear of the mother from the soul of the Greek. Therefore, the feminine principle could

only be felt as part of himself and thus be projected upon the young men who seemed to him more worthy of his love. Youth is always conceived of as pure, untouched by experience, and as standing between the masculine and feminine rôles. The ideal as a projection of himself could thus be attained; whereas woman was physical reality and his relation with her meant fatherhood and did not include companionship. This separation of love into the physical and ideal by the Greek, with its object the boy, is entirely analogous to the later metaphysical love of the Middle Ages; with this difference and development, that its object then became woman.

The symbol of this ideal human achievement for the Greek was the psychic hermaphrodite, the blend of feminine and masculine attributes in male form and its immortalization was attained in Greek art. That homosexuality flourished as the natural accompaniment of man's love of himself—that is, of his own sex—was an incidental result which does not affect the real significance of the Greek achievement nor alter the greatness of their ideal aim, the creation of the highest human values under the conception of ideal love, and the effort at its achievement in the world of reality.

That the physical basis of creation out of which the ideal grew could not be safely ignored or disposed of by scorning woman as a physical being, and withdrawing from her, is fully revealed in the inability of Greek idealism to maintain itself according to its own standards. Plato's "great and beautiful soul" could only be found in the male form—woman belonged to the animal sphere and could contribute only to the sensual pleasure of man. However, in the true Platonic conception, the love for the individual with its sensuous accompaniment was only the intermediate step on the way to the higher impersonal love for all beauty and the independent idea. And the ideal virgin goddesses of the Greeks, powerful and wise, instead of the maternal figures which were the type of all the Eastern goddesses, appear to signify that the Greeks intuitively recognized a possibility for woman not yet appearing in reality.

Even though prostitution flourished in this great cultural period and the old sexual outpourings were frankly recognized in the mysteries and the various spring festivals, nevertheless, there had arisen a new value. Man had advanced far in his struggle against his domination by nature when he created and worshiped the ideal as separate and differentiated from the physically sensuous. The male creative impulse had achieved a glorious fruitfulness, while woman remained fast enchained to her primal purpose.

I dwell on these Greek ideals because they are of importance for our era; and because Greek culture was the apex of a great human development of a portion of mankind when the rest of the people of Europe were barbarians. The Greek culture was the expression of the highest and most developed members of society—the aristocratic and the wealthy—the few on top, resting upon the great masses beneath, undifferentiated and engulfed in slavery, poverty, and degradation. Humanity and kindness as we recognize those terms seemed to have little place even in cultured Greek life. Mahaffy says, "Their kindness was limited to friends and family and included no chivalry to foes or to helpless slaves." Therefore, their attitude toward children, even their own, can be understood as a product of the cruel egotistic male principle untouched by the maternal altruism. The absolute right of the father to kill or dispose of his offspring as he chooses is characteristic of all peoples in whom no regard for the development of woman or consideration for her apart from her biological function, has arisen. And always the daughters were the ones considered of little value. Posidippus' statement indicated the general attitude of Athenians where the exposure of children was so common, "The son is brought up even if one is poor; the daughter is exposed even if one is rich."

With the passing of the Greek culture of art and beauty into Roman hands, and its modification and gradual deterioration in the service of the more sensation loving and materialis-

tic Roman world, the steady decline of man's lofty attainments in art and abstract thought set in, and the great regression began in which man was again swallowed up in the primitive instinct and orgy of lust which characterized the Roman civilization at the time of the advent of Christianity. But something was gained before the darkness became complete—a greater humanity expressed in a feeling for justice, which brought forth the great Roman law. Through this a better and freer status for women, and a lessening of the power of the father over the children was achieved.

The new culture which now was destined to replace both the Greek and Roman ideals made its appeal to the submerged masses. Instead of arising from the highest and most cultured society, it arose from the lowliest, and therefore, psychologically speaking, we must say that the time was ripe for a new direction of life in which the lowly or inferior might share. The Jewish psychology, which brought to birth this new phase of individual love and personal valuation, in contrast to the Greek impersonality, represented a hard arrogance; quite the opposite extreme from the humble Jesus, who might well be called the symbol and personification of the compensatory tendency in the life of the Jewish people.

It is not difficult to understand that the Christian teaching of individual values, of love, mercy, and service, the attributes of the feminine principle as opposed to the masculine rule of justice, authority, and power, would appeal to all the downtrodden and oppressed of the earth, among whom women could be reckoned as the greatest sufferers. Nevertheless, in the true feminine attitude of conservatism and subserviency to the enterprise and daring of the man, it was not woman primarily who espoused the new teaching and contributed to its acceptance by the Roman world.

Again, it was man, this time the humble and oppressed, the slave, and therefore nearest to the status of woman, who eagerly embraced the new order. The submerged masses had

gained a representation for themselves, and there was presented to them, in this miraculous story of a virgin birth, motherhood elevated and freed from its sexual elements and, through this, the possibility of the transcendence of the bondage to nature and nature's laws. Again in the figure of Christ, as everywhere portrayed, we have the androgynous character emphasized, and although in the strict laws of the Jews there was no tolerance for any form of homosexual practice, nevertheless, here was a feminine religion of love, passivity, non-resistance, entirely divorced from sexuality and expressed in the male form, born from the midst of this stern masculine rule of authority and power. The hard, merciless father, Jehovah, was displaced by the gentle, merciful, loving son, who raised woman to a plane of equality with man when he said of the courtesan who by Jewish law was to be stoned to death, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

Yet one of the darkest periods in man's history came during the early Christian era when in his efforts to free himself from the domination of his sensual instincts and from the widespread lust and depravity which permeated the whole of Roman life, he looked upon woman as the personification of that evil. There can be no doubt that woman took part in the licentiousness and sexual abandon which characterized the time, because always woman's only stock in trade with which she could win any power or advantage for herself, has been her sexual lure for man—and that she hesitated to use this influence cannot be imagined. Therefore, it is not difficult to realize that besides the inner temptation from his sensual instincts in the service of pleasure, he had reason to fear the temptation from without in the form of woman, everywhere appealing to and playing upon that weakness. For woman the situation is exactly reversed. The strongest inner demand in woman is for the fulfilment of her biological function which, with its attendant cares, I call woman's reality. The temptation of the pleasure desire comes from without, and is connected with the gratification of the ego, to be won through her ability to

charm and lure man and thus gain some of the power, luxuries, and ease possessed by him, and desired by her.

It was during this terrific struggle of the early Christians against the very real sensual excesses of unbelievable variety, in which the Roman world was steeped, that we have the development of the Christian monastic life, the anchorites, and all the pitiful spectacle of man torturing himself in his efforts to destroy the power of nature's sway. No one reading of the anguished efforts of that long procession of early Christians to overcome the temptations of the flesh and the devil can wonder at the attitude towards women which received such a terrible expression in the words of Tertullian previously quoted. Not until after the virgin Mary was accepted into the Church, recognized as the mother of God, and elevated to the position of a divine intermediary with her son, could the growing need of man to love and worship a being different from and transcending himself, upon whom he could project his ideals, be personified in objective form.

Through the divine virgin a bridge was created which linked the Eastern maternal divinities and the Greek virgin goddesses with the Christian culture, and connected man's past psychological development with the growing sense of personal values and his increasing psychic separation from nature's claims. In elevating virgin maternity to divinity an object was created which satisfied man's need to love beyond himself, and at the same time separated the maternal mystery from its sexual associations. But for woman this changed attitude of man meant something quite different from what it did for him. In loving any man she would be loving beyond herself because any man was superior to all women. Woman was synonymous with inferiority, and from the beginning of her life she was subject first to her father and later, when given in marriage, to her husband. In her marriage she had practically no personal life but was entirely given over to her family. Therefore, the advent of masculine idealized love, with the elevation of woman as the object of his love, raised her to divinity also, after the

prototype of the Holy Virgin, and for the first time in historic culture anywhere outside of ancient Egyptian and Babylonian cultures, she was given a share in personal values.

This was the beginning for her of the possibility of psychic development and the growth of the principle of individuality. Woman now, however, became as far overvalued ideally as before she was undervalued; and woman as a human being, with needs and capacities demanding development as much as those of man, was quite as unknown to him as before.

That this overvaluation was an idealistic attitude, however, which was far from being carried out in actuality can be easily shown by the chronicles of those days. The right of wife beating was quite generally recognized, and it was considered an advanced condition when in the thirteenth century the Contumes de Beauvoises provided "que le mari ne doit battres sa femme que raisonnablement." An example of this reasonable beating can be inferred from the stories told by the Knight of la Tour et Landry to his daughters (1373). He relates how a lady so irritated her husband that he struck her to the earth with his fist, and kicked her in the face, breaking her nose, and then moralizes in this wise,

> And this she had for her cruelle and gret langage that she was wont to saie to her husbonde. And therefor the wiff aught to sefe and lete the hosbonde have the wordes, and to be maister, for thet is her worshippe.

St. Bernardino agreed with this, and said in a public sermon:

> And I say to you men, never beat your wives while they are great with child, for therein would lie great peril. I say not that you should never beat them, but choose your times.[1]

We must realize, of course, that those were rough times far removed from our present-day lives and woman herself was a partaker in the general coarseness and brutality which char-

[1] Coulton: *From St. Francis to Dante,* p. 14.

acterized those days. In the *Confessionale,* a manual for parish priests, one of the canonical penances to be imposed reads,

> If any woman, inflamed by zealous fury, have so beaten her maid servant that she die in torment within the third day . . . if the slaying have been wilful, let her not be admitted to the communion for seven years; but if it be by chance, then let her be admitted after five years' legitimate penance.[1]

Therefore, although the ideal of woman as the embodiment of the feminine principle of love and service had now arisen, woman in herself in reality had achieved little more development of the individual aspect of the love function than man. Only when her maternal instincts were drawn upon were the virtues attributed to her evident, but these were as instinctive and primal as man's ego instincts and, therefore, cannot be claimed as indicating any higher development of individual woman.

However, it is hardly to be expected that woman who was not the creator, but only the partaker in man's cultural development, would be any further advanced than man himself, or indeed as far, for no development was supposed to be possible for her and, therefore, it was considered man's duty to control her and answer for her conduct, as he was supposed to answer to God for his. In Milton's *Paradise Lost* this idea is expressed in the words; "He for God only, she for God in him."

During this long period of man's struggle to emancipate himself from his thraldom, there is little evidence that woman contributed much of concrete value. She was still esteemed by man and by her own attitude as well, as the bearer of his children, and her only contribution as an individual was the service and devotion she could render to him. In his discourse to men on the subject of their treatment of their wives, St. Bernardino compares her to the hens and the hogs.

> Many a man when he sees his wife less clean and delicate than he would fain see her, strikes her forthwith; but the hen may

[1] Ibid.

befoul your table, and yet you have patience with her, why not then with her to whom you owe patience; seest thou not the hog, too, always grunting and squealing and defiling thy house! Yet thou sufferest him until slaughter time. Thy patience is but for the fruit's sake of the beast's flesh, that thou mayst eat it. Bethink thee, wretch, bethink thee of the noble fruit of thy lady, and have patience; it is not meet to beat her for every trifle, no! [1]

It is recognized everywhere that a slave people make little or no contribution to human culture, and that the highest human values can only grow and evolve in a society in which external freedom of action and of thought is fostered. Therefore that women as a class have been no exception to this rule is not extraordinary.

All the new stirrings and activities of man which began after the long, dark night of the great regression which occupied the first thousand years of the Christian era, are too close at hand to need retelling—the period of woman worship, the Crusades, the search for the Holy Grail, the troubadours, knights, and gallants; the Courts of Love, the passionate and romantic ideals, the religious ecstasies and heated fervors, the demonic and divine possessions, all of which can be recognized as another edition of the Greek festivals, Bacchant and Dionysian orgies, the outflowing creative libido in its character of creator and destroyer.[2]

Though the underlying energy possesses always the same power and character, that in no way alters the right of the new creations produced to be recognized as distinct entities entitled to individual consideration. New values, new levels, and new capacities developed by man are entirely analogous to the physical development which nature has brought forth in the long process from the unicellular organism up to the complex and highly differentiated organism which we call man. The effort of man to transform the instinctive sexual desire into its

[1] Ibid.
[2] Compare Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious.*

higher form of love with its transcendence of purely physical sensation was begun by the Greek in his love for the youth, was symbolized in the Christ story of the Hebrew; and was reborn and transferred to the woman as object in its renaissance during the Middle Ages. This meant for the male the winning and development of the feminine aspect of his psychology. One need only read of the particular attributes—really the maternal attitude and care—that, according to the Greek ideal, was expected of the lover towards the beloved to recognize in them all the highest maternal qualities.

In other words, the altruistic impulse, or the ideal parental feeling, was born in man apart from actual parenthood. Thus began in him, through the development of the function of feeling and love, the possibility of the conscious possession of the highest feminine attributes; and, with this, the first step was taken on the path of that higher individuation of man, dreamed of by the poets as a possibility and felt as a vague intuition in all the longings and aspirations of humanity. However, as always, in the beginning, the new conception, the new attitude, is the property of the few and belongs to the realm of the ideal. It is a theoretical conviction developed in thought and generally far removed from the practical and real lives of those espousing it.

The important fact to realize in all this, however, is that there was not the slightest opportunity for woman to attain any individual development until a comparatively short time ago, beginning with the second millenary of the Christian era. And what are eight centuries in the light of human history? That there were occasional women along the pages of this history whose names have been associated with some unique work or cultural activity belonging to men, does not alter the general conditions; it only serves to indicate that woman was not biologically or psychologically lacking, but that her ignorance, weakness, and mental incapacity in relation to directed thought and outer reality, through the long ages, was a psychological condition corresponding to the early state of man when he,

too, was completely enmeshed in instinct and caught in nature's toils. His history is the story of a definite, never-ending struggle to transcend instinct. Woman's history is the story of an unending repression of all her desire and effort to transcend instinct. Therefore, it was a long time before the elevation of woman, as an ideal, produced much effect upon the lives of actual women. It was something, to be sure, to be the object of adoration, to be placed in heaven instead of in hell even in thought, and to be considered the incarnation of all virtue, beauty, and purity before whom the proud, brave knight knelt tremblingly. And woman, secretly exulting as this ray of sunlight broke in upon the long dark night, obediently tried to assume these virtues and attractions that man desired to worship. Thus began for her, slowly and painfully, the awakening to a greater self-consciousness, the recognition of herself as a distinct and separate psychic being apart from Nature's claims, and although differentiated from man physically, and far behind him in the development of the specifically human psychic activities, not barred by that from developing those higher human attributes for which he had struggled so long and so painfully.

To be sure, woman in her rôle of mother had certainly achieved something through the evolution of humanity from its primal origin; but what she gained was essentially a deepening rather than a broadening of consciousness, a greater maturity of her maternal qualities, which could include society as well as family, rather than an all-round psychic growth such as men had been free to gain. Her development had consisted chiefly in the better adaptation to reality forced on her by man, the acceptance of his conception of her inferiority [1] and the greater development of the subjective functions of intuition and feeling. This inner development produced that greater endurance, steadiness and tenacity of purpose, devotion to a

[1] Compare the morning prayer chanted in the Jewish Synagogue by the men: "Blessed art thou, the Eternal, our God, King of the Universe who hath not made me a woman." To which all the women meekly reply: "Blessed art thou . . . who hath made me according to His will."

cause or a person, and general altruistic attitude which characterize woman. Along with this she possessed those attributes of courage, strength, and daring which are called masculine, but which in her were a direct outgrowth of her maternal nature and came into activity through a demand made upon her in the service of her child. The individual or definite self-conscious ego function which existed for woman in the beginning only in the germ, just as the parental or altruistic function of man was merely a germ, could only slightly express itself apart from her maternity. Weakness, timidity, uncertainty, and apparently illogical behavior, when necessity forced independent action upon her in the realm of man's reality, were the qualities insisted upon by man as belonging to woman. These are quite the natural and expected attitudes of the child, who has been kept in subjection to the parents and allowed no part in the life of the world. In other words the individual ego development was arrested in woman at the child or beginning adolescent stage, because it was dominated by the maternal impulse from within and man's jealous power and dominion from without. Thus one would expect much less actual psychic development of woman than of man and a consequent much greater need of it. Very early marriage and the immediate entrance into her maternal responsibilities was the custom for her in the not-far-distant past; and from that time on any individual ego development took place only indirectly. Education or training of the intellect which is the offspring of the ego function was in general denied her. Yet only through an intellectual training and discipline and the development of the capacity for directed thought, which from the knowledge of the present and the past, is able to reach into and help create the future, can any complete and rounded psychic development take place.

It is true that the subjective function of feeling which, with intuition, has been woman's especial mode of adaptation, has served her well for her own reality. But in dealing with the world, man's reality, something more is needed both for de-

velopment of herself as an individual and to meet adequately and judge issues which demand directed thinking. It is only through both directed thinking and developed feeling that the control of over-emotional and illogical conduct can be attained, the instinctive action be subdued by reason, and a better and more matured orientation to one's self and to one's environment be achieved.

This is the future attainment that man's tardy development of the capacity for personal love, separated from gross sexuality, has made possible also for woman. For with the consequent gradual relinquishment of his hold on her as his property, comparable to his "hen" or "brood sow," in the words of St. Bernardino, and worth as much as the number of children she could bring forth and the work she could do for him, there slowly arose the idea that she might be a companion and a sharer in his personal interests.

The gradual lessening of his domination over her, due to his desire to love and adore something beyond himself and yet human, and his willingness to do homage, soon brought about a great change in her attitude toward herself. It became increasingly possible for her to express her desires and ask to share in some of her brother's privileges without danger of being locked up or struck down. She commenced to exert a pressure of her own to gain for herself some of the opportunities which man had achieved and created for himself in his world. Occasionally and falteringly at first one woman or a few here and there made the effort. The majority, as always, were only too glad to enjoy the external form of regard and consideration and bask a little in the release from the pressure of the ages. Thus began the long difficult struggle to renounce the appeal of weakness, the hysterical and dramatic pretense by means of which woman could frighten, tease, and play upon man's newly found chivalry in an effort to win for herself some feeling of self-regard and of ego satisfaction.

This is the real problem of woman which had its dawn as a living issue only seven or eight centuries ago. Dante was its

first great voice, and in his immortalization of Beatrice, the symbolic figure who led him to the highest heaven, he projected the next great need of man, the evolvement of love from its physical basis of sexuality, and the winning for himself of the feminine capacity for desexualized love and service, the mother of all altruism.

According to a psychological law, when an inner need arises in humanity, it appears first to consciousness in an external form objectified in the outer world and perceivable by the senses. Therefore, man's thoughts turned to woman, as the symbol of certain human attributes desired, and thus she became the object which he needed to raise beyond himself and to love. As a result of this change in man's attitude, woman had her opportunity of becoming conscious of her own great need and of slowly arriving at the inner perception of her great weakness and lack. Thus her hunger for individuality arose.

This is the real meaning of the increasing restlessness and dissatisfaction which characterize modern woman, and it is the result, the bastard child according to many, which man did not count upon as the fruit of his new attitude. Nevertheless, the problem is here; it has been growing and gathering momentum through the centuries, and no interpretation of woman that neglects this fundamental factor of her psyche can really touch the heart of her psychology or do justice to her needs.

It is still the fashion of men to talk in terms of purely biological woman and to postulate theories of her needs based on her great primal and organic function. The majority remain utterly blind to the fact that a development out of the simply instinctive, an urge towards something beyond herself, what I call the evolutionary urge, is as necessary and normal for her as it is for him. Physicians, sociologists, biologists, as well as men in general and many women themselves, are very fond of referring to the good old days when woman was solely a mother, content to serve her husband and to see her final goal in the fulfilment of her sexual function; and in woman's

revolt they see only the symptoms of modern hysterias and neuroses. No doubt, if man had been the considerate, protecting, and domesticated creature, willing to make the happiness of his wife and children his first thought and care, instead of himself and his special creative activities, woman would have comfortably accepted the child rôle in her function as an individual, the maternity as her sole creative purpose for many centuries to come. But for modern woman to remain fixed and immovable in her primal instinctive purpose is as impossible as this attitude was impossible for the developing man of the past.

The general condition is only dimly realized by the individual because consciousness is entirely occupied with the immediate experience, with sense perceptions, and with the environmental traditions. Consequently, he is unable to evaluate his mental attitudes and physical reactions and conduct for himself, but as is common to all stages of humanity he uses his intellectual processes to rationalize and adjust his behavior to the cultural thought and demands of his period. For, under normal conditions, the unconscious cannot carry through any form of activity unacceptable or in disagreement with the conscious rational self. Therefore, the individual remains unaware of the ancient processes functioning in and influencing his present life and he cannot evolve beyond them except through greater self-consciousness or according to the immeasurably slow process of nature herself.

Women are generally nearer to the collective unconscious than men and this produces the instability, the changeableness, and emotional responsiveness of those women whom men have generalized over as representative of all women. It is these qualities that link together the artist nature, the woman and the child because they are all in closest relation to the same source. This is also the explanation of the supposed great tendency of women to hysteria; according to Kraepelin, seventy per cent of adult women are hysterical, and before this Suden-

ham stated that there are few women except those leading a hard, laborious life who are entirely exempt from some trace of hysteria. Since psychoanalysis, however, we know that women have no monopoly on this condition. It appears that the chief difference in the past between men and women in relation to hysteria has been that men could run amuck in divers ways which allowed the functioning of primitive impulses and energies denied to women. The roving and wanderlust, the "sowing of wild oats," the adventurous experiences and sexual freedom socially permitted while the boy was supposed to be "finding himself," provided the analogous behavior to the hysterical conduct which was all that was possible for the socially and biologically restricted girl. She has most largely learned adaptation and achieved development through her feelings and intuitions, the functions of thought and sensation being in general less dominant than with men. The greater firmness and integration of the ego function in man is the result of his age-long struggle to conquer the collective powers of nature and shape them to his will. To this end, hardship of all kinds, the discipline of war, education, training in control of emotions by thought, all contributed, and at the same time provided the greater development of the self than is common to women in general.

These latter centuries are the ones in which the ego function has been emphasized and gradually developed in women, when many have come to repudiate their ancient domination by nature and man and to demand a share in the freedom and opportunity to choose for themselves in at least the limited form that men have so long possessed. Concomitant with this period of rebellion on the part of some women, many women gave themselves over to the unwonted delight of weakness, self-indulgence, and helplessness as much as the circumstances allowed, and attempted to adopt the ethereal, transcendent, spirituelle pose desired by man, or to allow themselves to sink into a condition of superficiality, uselessness, and idleness, actually foreign and destructive to their

natures. However, this phase has been a comparatively short-lived one. It may be said to have served as a transition from the former period when the greatest responsibilities were demanded of woman with the least opportunity for herself as an individual, to the modern times when women are everywhere demanding and creating opportunities to work out for themselves their own needs as separate personalities. The period is one of experiment, seeking, trial, and error. The desire for individual development is the dominant note of the crude formula, "I must express myself."

This dominant need unfulfilled and consciously unrecognized by many women who yet suffer from it gives rise to the common neuroses and to the neurotic and faulty personalities so manifest in the life of the present. The inner need of the organism to win a higher integration evident in the life of mankind to-day is expressed in women by the desire to free themselves from the effects of the age-long oppression and subjection of their personality. This struggle cannot be won by imitating or functioning like man; its purpose is the gaining of a full and rounded psychic development and a utilization of those psychic functions which have remained latent for so long.

For many women this need is still expressed in the old way of seeking power and ego satisfaction through their sexual appeal and desire for love, and this blinds men as much to-day as ever to the real problem of women. They like to think that women are sexual beings with no further need than to receive petting and love service from men, and many women too, are under the same ancient illusion. Yet when we see these conditions fulfilled in the most complete way possible, as we do in some marriages, we begin to realize how inadequate they are to woman. How often is the modern wife sick with an illness for which she cannot account, possessed with all sorts of neurotic symptoms or filled with an inexplicable dissatisfaction distressing alike to herself and her husband. When a one-sided life is lived by either woman or man, one which does not call upon the full capacities of the individual, then we know

that there lie the possibilities of a dissatisfaction, which may find for itself a surrogate manifestation in a neurosis.[1]

I do not want to be understood here as advocating or offering as the solution of these complicated psychological problems, the old suggestion of more work or activity. Neither will the favorite masculine formula of maternity and a sexual life prove satisfactory as a solvent for the restless discontent of woman.

[1] The following letter was written by a gifted young woman a year after her marriage, and clearly expresses the many-sided problem of the modern woman. Fortunately she, unlike many others, is quite aware of the complexity of her situation and will not develop a neurosis.

"What men expect from woman is appalling! Or rather what John expects from me! And no idea in his mind that it is anything extraordinary. The care and love he expects, no matter what *he* does: if *he* is sulky or sick he can act as he pleases. If he doesn't feel like loving me, he needn't. But I must always be there. . . . I am not filled with resentment as much as with amazement! So *that* is what a woman's love means. Self-sacrifice! Maternity! Be everything and demand nothing! I am overwhelmed. . . . No wonder women find it hard to carry on their work under those conditions, and John has no *impersonal* thought of me. I am always thought of in relation to himself. And he doesn't *know* he is asking anything. Utter ignorance! That is not saying that he is not appreciative; as far as things concern himself. . . .

"I have felt at times hot resentment about the whole situation. Why wasn't my work as important as John's? Why did I always have to be the one to sacrifice? But the resentment seems to be more against a theoretical state of affairs. When I do actually get a view of John's expectations I am nothing more than amazed. *How can* he feel that way? . . . I think part of my astonishment lies in the fact that I have believed that John was different: he understood: men like my brother could make a fuss, but my husband was different. And to find he is the same!

"And at the same time with this sudden realization of what he expects has come a realization of what I must expect of myself if I take an independent course. Loneliness, misunderstanding, and possibly not being ever able to do anything in art to amount to anything and so never get recognition. . . . The responsibility that will come to me appears to be a much harder thing than to accept self-sacrifice, so that I hardly know whether I am strong enough to take it or not. . . . To be worthy of John's love: to work out a relationship that will really give us anything: under those conditions. . . . I *do* love him, more than I ever imagined I could; but I know from my experience last winter when I did give in completely it brought us nowhere. John lost all interest in me, though he wouldn't acknowledge it. I shudder when I think of some of those awful times we had together.

"I see no way for me but to accept the responsibility of independence. Where shall I have the strength for it? It isn't like just taking one course and having something definite to go on. It is doing two things: trying to make a home and love a deepening, enriching experience, and at the same time carrying something that has nothing to do with anybody but me: my art. I am like Paul, smitten down with revelation and yet not like Paul because I want both God and the devil and Paul was at least able to be single-minded."

Important as all these factors are for woman's life, they do not solve the problem of the individual woman.

Work in the world, or useful activity, is the final expression or fruit of the psychological attainment and follows as a natural result when the individual development has proceeded far enough to release the energy bound up in the repressed and crude functions of the personality. Then the creative libido can freely express itself in whatever form is most natural and necessary for the individual at the time. From this standpoint it is not possible to postulate a simple theory generally applicable for the cure of the neurotic ills or for the alleviation of the disturbances and aberrations of mankind. A general theory has only a general validity and is not of specific or individual value. This latter can only be determined by a special painstaking technical application of the psychoanalytic method which brings to light all the hidden, repressed and unique tendencies of the human being as well as the collective instinctive desires and trends and their manifestations in the life of the individual.

In this way there is revealed very clearly the particular problem of the individual which may have its root in the sex instinct or in the needs of the ego, but generally both aspects of the organism are involved and a higher evolvement of the instinctive trends is demanded to bring adequate satisfaction to the individual life. As long as the higher psychological functions of humanity remain bound in a crude, instinctive form, there will be neuroses and neurotic problems to face, for the whole effort of the human being is to transcend the instinctive animal. The many aberrations and neurotic weaknesses, deviations from the abstraction called normal, all reveal in their very lack of fixed and rigid forms, possibilities of development and transformations from the unself-conscious animal man to that highly conscious self-creative man.

Therefore, from my experience I can state that the important psychological problem of woman affecting her health and well-being is not that of her biological sexual life and its function-

ing, or the winning of her sexuality from the reality principle to the pleasure principle. Important as these attainments may be, there is the need for an adequate development of her individual possibilities, the deepening of consciousness, the bringing forth from herself, without the sacrifice of her feminine and maternal development, those masculine functions of independent thought and feeling in the service of herself as an individual. In other words, woman needs to gain the self development in which lies the possibility of individuation, and an integration on a higher psychological plane of those instinctive trends held in a primitive form for so long.

I can cite illustrations without number in justification of this point of view. Mankind has been struggling for ages to raise himself to a level higher than that of simple instinct response. His culture has all been directed towards this aim and that this now stands before him as his new goal consciously realized under various terms, can be proved by innumerable examples of conduct, and the records of many cases. In this, woman also must have a part. I shall relate just one case chosen from many which can serve as an illustration of my thesis:

This woman is thirty years of age, happily married to the man of her choice, and is the mother of two children. She had been ailing more or less since her marriage at eighteen years of age and has been always considered by her family to be delicate.

In appearance she is strong with a fine physical development, and no organic disease of any kind has ever been discovered. Her symptoms are gastric and intestinal in character, accompanied with an extreme feeling of weakness and depression. She has had what is called a breakdown—a long illness lasting over several years during which, besides the intestinal disorder, the chief symptoms were a feeling of great physical debility, fainting spells, and a sense of futility and insufficiency because unable to "stand up" under her responsibilities. Her recovery was apparently only partial, for always there has been a general attitude on the part of herself and her family implying incapacity and delicate health. These phys-

ical symptoms were now much augmented by a sense of failure, as she expressed it, and a definite mental conflict engendered in accepting the rôle of an inadequate person. Her childhood history, of which this appears to be the continuation, was marked by an early feeling of responsibility in relation to the family.

The family consisted of father, mother, grandmother, and three children, of whom the patient is the eldest.

The father is described as overimpulsive, unreasonable, unthinking, irritable, inclined to criticism and fault-finding, lacking in generosity at home, but overgenerous outside of the family, wholly occupied in business and personal affairs, high-tempered and dominating, yet good-natured withal.

The mother, blind from childhood, was mentally mediocre, a protected and limited personality. She was healthy and alert, ready for fun and amusement, mischievous, loving attention but not knowing how to give it; a childish undeveloped personality.

The grandmother, inclined to be generous and with larger views, possessed more warmth and understanding in her personality. She figured largely in the patient's life, really carrying the mother symbol. The household generally was limited and narrow, heavy with tradition and offering little opportunity for culture or expansion.

This was the background of the patient, who was a sensitive, emotional child, easily depressed or excited. She possessed a warm, sunny disposition, outgoing emotions, inclined to be impulsive, with quick responses, and an eagerness to assume responsibility—a typical extravert type. On account of her mother's infirmity she soon occupied a prominent place in the household, was called the little mother, and even at the age of six felt the responsibility for her younger brothers. She states:

"I became conscious at an early age of a feeling of inferiority and inadequacy, was extremely sensitive, bashful, and overmodest, very desirous of making friends, and had no difficulties in relation with others, but on account of home conditions felt shy about bringing other children into the home. I always felt a loneliness inside and seemed to be left to myself, for no confidential or intimate relation ever existed at any time between my parents and myself, and I never asked questions or was allowed to be just a natural child. I would go to bed night after night worried or weeping either because of hurt feelings or because I found it so difficult

to please my parents, particularly my father, who seemed always to be scolding me and often did punish me severely. My mother's attitude towards me was always reflected through my father's pleasure or displeasure with me. I always felt isolated within myself, although I made many friendships from motives of what I called self-defense, for I could not bear this feeling. My greatest feeling of resentment was concerned with my desire for education which was disregarded by my parents. They thought it did not matter for me, and that my responsibilities in regard to the household were the most important consideration. I enjoyed these, but early learned to repress my opinions and feelings about things and to use tact in dealing with the grown-ups, especially my father, in order to please him. We all were taught to consider my mother in everything and I was the medium between her and the outside world. I learned to feel or to sense things and to gradually emerge into a recognition of what, perhaps, ought to be or to happen. I think my sense of inferiority became exaggerated as I grew, through my need of praise. I lived and fed on recognition and praise from any and everybody, even those whom I did not care for. It was an endless longing."

Her affections were tremendously involved with her two brothers to whom she always acted the mother. They used to come to her for advice, and the three confided in each other, none of them ever having a confidential relation with the parents from whom, they felt, they had no understanding.

There is no definite sex knowledge or experience with this girl, who gradually gained her own ideas through her intuitive perceptions. Love affairs began at sixteen years, but these were frowned on by the father, until, at the age of eighteen, an older man, aged forty, who was a caller at her parents' home, and whom all the family greatly admired, was chosen by her as husband. This seemed to her now as the climax of her life and the solution of her difficulties, and she was radiantly happy. However, as the subsequent history shows, this proved to be little more than a continuation of the condition of her childhood, relieved by a certain freedom from the restrictions of childhood and home conditions.

Although the father, psychologically speaking, was now gained and maternity achieved, the same inadequacies within the personality continued to be keenly felt and no solution for them had

been found. Therefore, the physical illness which but thinly veiled the psychic conflict, provided the justification for the weakness and inadequacy of an otherwise most capable and valuable personality. Her extreme attitude of adaptation to others through her extraverted feelings had quite swallowed up her individuality, and there is revealed here in an extreme form the particular problem of woman. She expresses this exaggerated feeling "adaptation" when she says of herself, "I have a way of torturing myself with other people's feelings through their experiences, and fail to realize what I have done until afterwards; I call it putting myself into an appreciative mood of what the other person is living through." This is the condition of *identification* with the object so serious for this type, to which I called attention in the chapter on psychological types.

This patient belongs to the subjective extravert type and in her reactions and feelings there can be clearly recognized the particular disabilities belonging to this type. The overdeveloped feeling attitude, the underdeveloped intellectual function, the extreme condition of identification with others (*participation mystique* with family), the utilization of intuition as the function of knowledge and adaptation, are all marked characteristics of this type. In this case the enormous desire for maturity—really for a winning of the ego function which is not possessed but is felt as a sense of loss, for it is dissolved in feelings and in identification with the object—reveals clearly the actual psychological need. Her constant and overwhelming desire for praise and regard from others is a direct result of the lack of any self-organization through which she could gain a firmness and security within herself; therefore, she is forced to seek this assurance outside among others in order to exist as a person at all.

The demand which her environment early placed upon her, of assuming responsibility and an adult rôle, brings into view very clearly the female Œdipus complex of Freud, but in this case the mother, on account of both character and infirmity, was actually the child as far as adult responsibility towards the family was concerned. The daughter played the rôle of

mother towards the younger brothers, from the beginning, so that her maternal attitude was overdeveloped at the expense of her individuality. Continuing this rôle in a direct and unhesitating manner, she went forward with her own life; she married at eighteen a man who was a most complete surrogate for the father, embodying in his personality the characteristics and qualities most lacking in the actual father, so that he more nearly approximated the ideal father. Thus she entered on her own life as woman and mother. However, although she felt satisfied and happy with her marriage and maternity, still the problem was unsolved. For her husband in his kindness and love had no appreciation of her real inner need and, therefore, in his typical demand upon her, that she be at one and the same time responsible mother, adviser, and companion, and individually a dependent child, she found herself in exactly the same situation in relation to him as she had been in relation to the father. Actually she was now wife with opportunities for freedom and satisfactions much greater than in her father's home. Therefore she could no longer attribute her difficulties and dissatisfied feelings to this external cause as before. She recognized this, and her efforts were now all directed towards meeting her husband on his level. The great difference in age brought her into continuous contact with persons much older and more experienced than herself and yet as wife she must meet them on the basis of equality; thus she spent the early years of marriage on tiptoe, as she called it, trying to adapt to a *milieu* which actually was not suitable for her. The consequence for her was a continuation and exaggeration of all the inadequate feelings, the physical weaknesses and neurotic disabilities which had begun in her childhood. In spite of all this, her actual achievement, as far as adaptation to her environment and the demands it made upon her were concerned, was unusually adequate and capably performed. It was only in relation to herself that she was inadequate and weak, to others she appeared strong and attractive, in a responsible, serious way, full of life and

capacity. The physical symptoms were the objectification of the psychic weakness, and the attention and consideration they demanded forced upon her a substitute for the attention that was necessary for her individual psychic needs. Through the conflict produced there was made possible the conscious willed effort at achieving the development of psychic functions differentiated and organized around an individual ego. Thus her struggling individuality could gain a firmness and security sufficient to enable her to maintain herself in the midst of the change and movement of life.

Her analysis was entirely occupied in this attainment, and although this case reveals all Freud's psychological conceptions most clearly it also reveals that the problem of the human being is much more complex and far deeper in its essence than the facts of parental influence, incestuous and autoerotic desires. The gradual building up of a firm individuality, the separation of feeling from thinking, the development of an independent thought function, and the organization of her subjectivity into something distinct and definite was the work of many months, but in the meantime her intestinal and gastric disorders disappeared, her fine physical organism asserting itself normally when relieved of the pressure of the psychic disorder. Although life brought many afflicting and sorrow-producing experiences, including the loss of her beloved husband, she was able to meet them without return of symptoms and with a new orientation towards life won through her own self-directed effort. But this achievement never can be gained as long as there is no adequate development of an ego function and no organization of a self which can exist independent of impulse and mood, and separate from the power of the object.

I know very well that the passing of symptoms and the so-called cure of disease is in no way a proof of the correctness of any therapeutic method or theory, since all methods, from the most scientific to the least scientific, have cures to their credit; therefore I do not offer this result as evidence of the correctness of the diagnosis. This can be found only in the

attitude to the self and the environment, the substitution of a joyous attitude in place of a depressed, restless dissatisfaction, and such an attainment, won in spite of the fact that deprivation of satisfaction of sensuous desires, and disturbing external conditions actually existed more than ever before, certainly possesses a significance worthy of some consideration.

VII

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ARTIST AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ARTISTIC CREATION

The division of humanity into definite psychological types and the discussion of the characteristic attitudes and reactions belonging to each type has prepared the way for a study of that special order of human genus we designate the artist.

It will not be difficult to recognize that many of the attitudes and reactions which I have described as characteristic of the emotional introvert and subjective extravert types, have been specifically associated with the psychology of the artist. The same instability, the same difficulty in their relation with external reality, the moods, depressions and exactions, the enthusiasm and the changeability, the compulsive and the immoderate behavior which, in greater or lesser degree, affect all the subjective types, also characterize the artists, for the majority of all artists belong to these types or at least they are in a distinct relation with the subjective processes.

Nevertheless, the peculiar psychic process which is the underlying basis of all art production brings about an unusual condition which is characteristic of all artists and which renders their psychology even more complex than that of the ordinary person belonging to the bisexual types.

The study of the psychology of the artist has always been an alluring one, for his is the personality which reveals to us through definite forms the peculiarly human capacity of non-biological creativeness. Through the technic of psychoanalysis it has been possible to gain some insight into the special psychic processes on which all art production depends regardless of its quality or character, and to study the impulses and mecha-

nisms at work. Fundamentally, the artist approximates more to the psychology of woman who, biologically speaking, is a purely creative being and whose personality has been as mysterious and unfathomable to the man as the artist has been to the average person.

In the previous chapter I emphasized the fact that woman is a being dominated by the creative urge and that no understanding of her as an individual can be gained unless the significance and effects of that great fact can be grasped. In the psychology of the artist we have the masculine counterpart of woman's creativeness. Both possess the same thing in common —an imperious urge toward the fulfilment of their destiny, which no difficulty of outer circumstance or environment can completely stifle. They are each dependent upon the other for the necessary fecundation to stimulate the creative processes to fruitful activity: for the woman, it is the objective sexual relation with the man which is necessary to start her creative product, the child; for the artist, it is an adequate subjective relation with the woman which is necessary for the quickening of his creative product, be it poem, painting, or invention. Both the artist and the woman possess a particular relation to the unconscious and this active living process which dominates their organism, apart from its own upkeep and renewal in the service of self-preservation, must be recognized as a distinct factor producing a definite effect upon the psychology of these individuals and separating them from ordinary mankind.

Many students of human biology have called attention to the creative capacity as the peculiar possession of human beings in general. In a large sense this can be observed everywhere, and thus all people are potential artists. Certainly when any genuine creative work is produced, the mechanism of its production is always the same whether the producer is called an artist or not or whether he belongs to the artist type or not.

Nevertheless the true artist has always been and still is a being somewhat apart from the rest of humanity, and is en-

titled to be considered in a class by himself. Although as an individual he will be found to fall definitely into one or other of the psychological types already discussed, and to reveal in his art production this type characteristic, any adequate understanding of his psychological processes must take account of his special creative activity in the same way that woman's specific functioning must be reckoned with in any consideration of the individual woman.

The special psychic activity of the sexual libido in the artist, which distinguishes him from the biological woman, as well as from other men, produces a unique condition for which there is no parallel outside of the human organism. The specific fruit of this functioning has been the production of a humanly created world in contrast to and yet intimately interpenetrated by the world of nature. It follows that those individuals whose creative activity results in the bringing forth of these peculiarly human products—in contrast to the biological form which man shares in common with all living creatures—must of necessity require a special study and consideration.

The artist in common with woman has always been looked upon a little suspiciously and curiously by that portion of mankind who consider themselves stable and solid and who represent the common-sense or rationally organized individuals. For the artist, again like the woman, possesses a reality of a different order from that of the ordinary man. His ego is entirely identified with his creative processes which for him constitute the entire meaning and purpose of his life. Hence his individual adaptation is made to this capacity just as the woman has adapted to her reality, which comprises all that concerns her function and purpose.

He is known to be emotionally unstable, neurotic, and often appears mentally unbalanced or even psychotic. Genius and madness have from time immemorial been associated, and the lives of the creative artists and geniuses in all fields, do reveal an overwhelming preponderance of erratic conduct, emotional stress and irrational reactions, coupled with definite psychic

FIG. 8. Unconscious portrayal of the resurrection of the animus or soul figure by a young woman artist. The contrast is here strikingly shown between the delicate, almost ethereal feminine persona and the crudely primitive, almost brutal masculine figure.

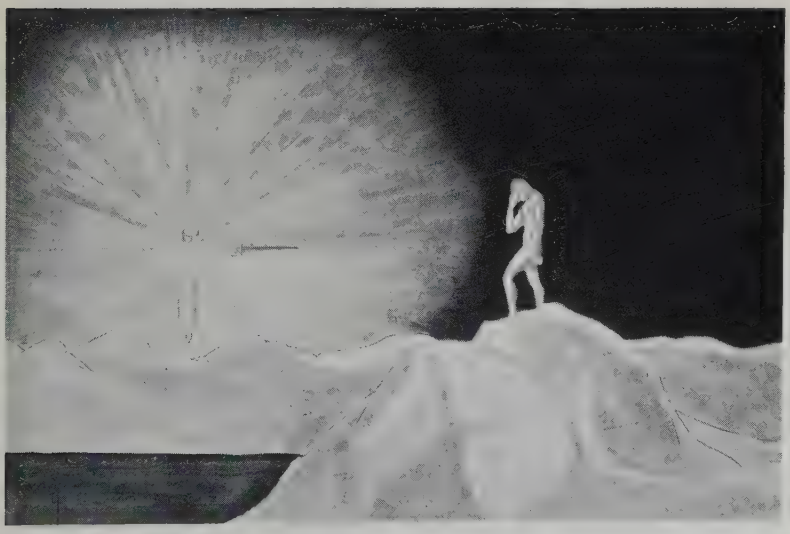


FIG. 9. The same figure as above transformed. Produced some months later after analysis.

disturbances manifested in conflict, struggle and mental disorder.

It is these accompaniments of masculine creative activity that produced that amazing theory in the last century connecting genius with degeneracy. Because of the very evident resistance of the artist nature to the adaptation demanded by the outer collective reality which is the goal of so-called normal persons, he comes to be regarded as a degenerate on one side or as a superior being on the other.

When one looks back over human existence, however, it is very evident that all culture has developed through an *initial resistance against adaptation to the reality in which man finds himself.* This resistance acts as a stimulus to his inner impulse to action and to creation, thus causing him to shape and remake his environment to suit better his need and desire.

Through the impact of man upon the given objective reality, a constantly new and changing condition is created. Therefore the reality into which a child is born to-day is somewhat different in its adaptive demands from that in which his grandfather was born.

Nevertheless, although all new creation is dependent upon the same subjective process, this play directly upon the environment itself, indulged in by man in general since the beginning, is not the activity to which I refer, when I speak of the unique capacity of the artist. The artist is one whose efforts and interests are primarily occupied in creating a new and unique product, which is endowed by him with a distinct life of its own and which embodies his feelings and ideas in definite form. It is this surrogate form of life which we call art that he offers to the world as his contribution in place of himself as an ordinary adapted being.

The artist is the individual whose psychic processes are of a character which permit us to recognize that man has attained to a new and different kind of creative mechanism, one peculiar to himself even though based upon a purely biological process which he shares with all other animals. Although the artist

rarely uses this power in connection with any self-creation, his product being something which is thrown off from himself, nevertheless in the capacity which he possesses there lie potentialities for the human race of which it has scarcely dreamed.

The mystics are the only ones who have gained a glimpse into what is possible when this same capacity is used primarily in the service of the individual himself instead of for the creation of art. And I do not include here the pseudo-mystics' hysterical experiences any more than the pseudo-artists' claims, both of which are so apt to obscure the entire subject and prevent any real understanding of a genuine inner human achievement.

In previous chapters in this book I have referred to the existence of a surplus libido over and above that used in the process of adaptation to reality. It resists adaptation and is actually incapable of such employment. The libido that becomes organized in the service of adaptation to the demands of external life and to the demands of biological maturity forms one portion, and that which cannot be utilized forms another. This is the basis for that dualism which characterizes human life. In the little child this surplus libido, because of his immaturity and the simple responsibilities demanded by necessity, is far in excess of the portion used in adaptation; it is unorganized and finds its expression in play which occupies the most of his waking hours. This play is commonly of two definite forms; that which occupies itself in purely exteriorized motor activity, and that which finds its major occupation in the mental realm, creating phantasies, images and make-believe with the raw material of sense perceptions coupled with individual wishes. Although these two forms of play activity are frequently intermingled and pass into each other, nevertheless they are often found quite distinct and separate in different children and at different times in the same child.

The play of the child as he grows older, although still modeled upon his instinct activities, is associated now with the particular environment and culture which make up his

external world of perception and outer stimuli. At first unconscious imitation plays the important rôle but soon the creative impulse is recognized at work in the new combinations and imaginative activity displayed in the use of the environmental factors. The transformation which they undergo may become eventually æsthetic creation or that more general aspect of creative activity in which invention and improvement upon the already existing conditions are the chief forms. This creative activity is of the same order as that visible everywhere in nature. It arises through a vital necessity inherent in the organism and is the impulse which brings man, of all the living beings on this planet, into the position of nature's rival. This is expressed in his ceaseless activity to subdue and conquer her and at the same time in his attempt to understand and co-operate with her; it is objectified in the world of culture which he has produced inside the natural world.

Ribot speaks of all æsthetic creation as dependent upon a luxurious need and refers to the theory that art has its origin in superfluous activity. But what is this superfluous activity? —just the energy that is not needed for the direct business of adaptation or that portion which cannot be adapted to the reality of the time. That amount which cannot be harnessed and domesticated but insists on its own form of activity rather than that which is offered ready made, is the energy used for the creation of art.

In the development of the ordinary individual, this libido is forced more and more into the organization of the ego and the winning of satisfaction along conventional lines, and into the service of the maturing sexual system. Thus by the time puberty is reached, if the child develops according to rule, all the separate sexual play activities are presumed to have become organized and unified into one system under the supremacy of the "genital zone" for the performance of the adult sexual act.

The ego libido occupied in phantastic productions and play

activities is now to be transferred to the actual world and used in the service of conquering external reality and adapting the egotistic wishes to the outer objective conditions, in this way winning "honor, power, and the love of women." This is assumed by Freudian analysts to be the ideal and desired development for humanity in general.

Actually, however, this easy smooth development rarely ever takes place; if it did, all cultural progress would cease. As a matter of fact when the objective adaptation is approximated too closely we have, as far as the individual himself is concerned, a pathological condition as truly as when the psychic life remains on the infantile level wholly subjective and unadapted. Great numbers of persons, however, appear to be caught between the two worlds of play and reality, achieving little more than an infantile and inadequate relation to both.

However, there are persons who seem to possess from the beginning a capacity for adequate and adapted relations with the external world. Their psychic functions are in close relation with their environment and its demands, and they are able easily and without great effort to attain that coördinated and smooth relation to outer reality which indicates psychic functions adapted to objective life.

On the other hand there are persons who are born with a capacity for a maturity of another order—a maturity evolving from the surplus, outwardly unadapted libido, used by the child only in play, and therefore retaining a somewhat similar character. These persons possess an inner subjective life which manifests itself first in phantasies, imaginative play and immature erotic impulses. But, with their maturing physical organism, instead of turning away from their inner world in order to dominate directly the outer world as their major goal, the libido remains attached to the unconscious sources and becomes gradually organized and developed upon the subjective plane. For the artist most definitely lives in two worlds, the world of objective reality being colored and

shadowed by the subjective world of the ideal and of phantasy. The latter is made real by him through his capacity for arresting it and fixing it in form. This technically developed skill and intellectual training is the objective maturity which he brings to the aid of his unique psychic processes. He thus raises them out of the mist of the unconscious into the light of consciousness and embodies them in concrete form. The fruit of his psychic activity is seen in those highest forms of human creation, art, religions, and philosophies.

The supreme artists are those who possess within themselves the functions and mechanisms of the creative activity in the right relation with each other, so that the mysterious inner union which takes place in the unconscious at the moment when the artist feels himself possessed and lost in the mystic embrace, occurs as naturally and easily within him as the analogous act in the physical realm. For there is no doubt whatsoever that the fecundation which takes place as the preliminary act of all art creation is of the same character as that which precedes physical creation in the natural world. There are different forms of fertilization even in the organic world, besides the common one among higher animals. There is a self-fertilization in which one creature possesses the complete mechanism through which the new creation takes place instead of its division between two separate individuals.

Also, there is a myth which tells of a time when human beings were physically androgynous and the sexes were not divided. Although the myth is translated, as always, into terms of physical reality, the artist, because of the spiritual process occurring within him through which his creations are produced, presents an analogy to this mythical human being complete in himself. Because this is a psychical reality instead of a physical one, it is none the less actual, in that it produces real effects. Like many other energic processes in nature, it can be intellectually grasped only through its manifestations.

It has become evident that just as the ordinary adapted person has achieved in relation to the objective world an organi-

zation of his psychic functions associated with his ego, so the artist has achieved an organization of the inner life—that is, of the images and ideas belonging to the collective unconscious which carry with them a powerful fund of energy. Through him we are made aware of the significance and validity of the concept we call the soul; for the soul is the entity which plays the important rôle in the psychology of the artist, just as the ego-persona is the important factor in the psychology of the ordinary man—important to the degree of making him forget that he has a soul or, more serious still, of causing the complete loss of the soul. The psychology of the subjective types in general, and the artist as the most outstanding member of these types in particular, forces us to take cognizance of a definite psychic condition which, although intangible, exists and produces effects upon him of a most tangible sort.

It is as though man possessed a subjective entity, having no objective existence, a representation complex, which, for the purpose of objectification I call the *puer æternus*. This is the entity which Goethe called his dæmon. It is the complementary figure to the feminine element called the *soul*. This same symbolic presentation was discussed under other terms and a diagram given to represent the total individual in the chapter on types.[1] The importance was there emphasized of recognizing definite subjective entities which play a part in the life of the ordinary person. For the artist, however, these subjective entities are the most important aspect of his being and, because of the maturity which exists for him on this plane, I give them these distinctive terms.

Sometimes the individual is dimly conscious of this more undeveloped, more elemental self—a self sometimes most charming, sometimes demonic, but forming on the subjective plane a complex entity which is, in reality, an aggregation of impulses, feelings, and desires frequently incapable of being expressed externally. Depending largely on the character of persona organization, the tendencies and attributes belonging

[1] Chapter V, p. 216.

to this inner self and not included in the outer persona aspect of the personality may be desirable or undesirable.

The *puer æternus* is *compensatory* always to the persona. For instance, if the man presents a gruff, aggressive, masterful, clearly defined persona, the inner self, the *puer æternus*, can appear symbolized as a weak, gentle, ill-defined youth or boy or will remain, perhaps, entirely unformed, all the libido being utilized in maintaining the persona aspect. On the other hand, if the persona presents a gentler aspect, kindly, tolerant, refined, intellectual perhaps in tendency, then the other aspect is likely to appear symbolized as a crude, rough, domineering individual, full of pranks and tricks perhaps, but forceful and sometimes making himself felt in the kind gentleman in no uncertain way. The well-adapted person may reveal an entity quite unadapted and chaotic and vice versa.

This entity, however, appearing in dream and phantasy and sometimes consciously realized, is an excerpt of the collective unconscious, individualized and receiving its energy from this source. In the case of the artist it is a highly organized and often quite mature entity and through the union between this being and the companion entity, the feminine counterpart called the soul, also an excerpt of the collective unconscious but possessing feminine elements, all art is produced.

The fact that artistic creation involves sexual activity or proceeds from an activity of sexual libido has long been recognized, and that the artist is a bisexual being has been obvious enough, most artists being entirely aware of the woman in themselves. Moreover artists are obviously of two definite sexual types; one preponderantly feminine in manner, appearance, even physique; the other just as strongly masculine. The dominatingly masculine type will possess a definite feminine element, the soul, of almost fragile and illusive delicacy; while the feminine type will possess, on the other hand, a vigorous feminine component, a soul figure of strong and powerful character.[1] It is as though the masculine elements belonging

[1] In the woman the reverse of this is found. See drawing Fig. 10.

to his physical organism were used in energizing and overstimulating the inner image, so that the feminine soul figure compensates for the delicate masculine persona.[1]

It is the possession of these subjective entities, definitely organized but quite unadapted to outer reality, that causes the artist to be recognized as possessing "the soul of the child." The union between these masculine and feminine entities in the psychic organism of the artist partakes of the character of the sexual act, although it is an unconscious process of the nature of which the artist is unaware. But it possesses all the physical signs of the activity of libido sexualis and of the nature of his feelings he is quite aware. The distinction between this sexual activity and that belonging to external reality is that, at the time of the creative urge of the artist, no actual sexual contact is desired, and should this occur there is always a realization of its inadequacy for relief of the tension and a turning away. For the artist clearly reveals in his psychology what has occurred in the realm of human sexuality.

I have referred in previous chapters to the separation of the sexual impulse from its reproductive purpose in the human race with the consequent overthrow of nature's limitations and its use freely in the service of pleasure instead of purpose. As a consequence of this use in which reproduction really plays no part for the male there has been produced a transference of libido sexualis from the physical to the psychical realm. Here the artist reveals its transformation into a subjective phenomenon where a *psychic coitus occurs having for its constant aim not pleasure but purpose.* Only when the purpose is achieved and he begins to give birth to his creation does the artist as a man find satisfaction and fulfilment—never, when this particular creative period of sexual activity arises, can he find any satisfaction or relief in the physical act.

[1] In this connection I am reminded of a story told me by Dr. Maeder of Zurich about the artist Hodler, of whom the Swiss are so proud. He was a peasant type, crudely and dominatingly male, who was extremely sensitive over this, and used to complain sadly that no one recognized the woman in him or considered him as possessing this element.

It is this greater use of the creative process which can be observed so clearly in the work of the artist, and which is also visible in the greater consciousness and transformed lives of great mystics, that justifies all the groping, the struggle and torment of man, torn between the physical and spiritual aspects of his desire, on his way towards the attainment of a higher consciousness.

The psychic dualism without which no art creation would exist does not belong exclusively to the artist, as I have endeavored to show in the preceding chapters, but it is the dominating factor in the difficulty which these persons experience in making an adequate adaptation to their environment. This difficulty shows itself in the production of neuroses which, although themselves abortive or retrograde forms, are born of the same creative impulse producing art. Therefore, we would certainly expect the artist to show this sign of his conflict and, as a matter of fact, one can think of but few artists in whom a harmonious personality has been attained.

The great distinction between the artist and the ordinary members of the bisexual types lies in the matter of emphasis and its placement. The artist, because of his peculiar psychic organism, places his greatest emphasis and value upon his creative activity and his subjective processes, and through these produces another kind of reality which he offers as a substitute for the objective reality so difficult for him to meet. This latter is only a secondary consideration and a minor value for him to which he turns when weary and needing its sustenance.

The opposite attitude dominates the ordinary person belonging to these types. He emphasizes the objective reality, and desires as much as possible to adapt and adjust to its demands and to take his place in the group as a participant and contributor. He wishes to be a man among men and his strongest accent is placed here; any artistic gift or special creative capacity which he may possess being considered as a secondary asset or a by-product which must not interfere with

the main business of life. It is only in the moods of reaction which arise just so often, owing to the difficulty these people have in making an adequate adaptation, that they turn longingly to the world of the artist where phantasy and dream are reality and where the idea and feeling hold sway instead of the action or deed.

Theoretically, it would seem that if the artist can create for himself another kind of reality peopled by the children of his soul, he would avoid the conflict and the neurotic condition which is such a constant accompaniment of this type of personality. And indeed Freud in one of his lectures does say just this thing:

> If the individual who is displeased with reality is in possession of that artistic talent which is still a psychological riddle, he can transform his phantasies into artistic creations. So he escapes the fate of a neurosis and wins back his connection by this roundabout way.[1]

This is the theory, but when we look at the facts we see that it is not so simple as this would imply. One can think of a long line of artists belonging to our present era, as well as to the past, but it is very difficult to find among them even a few who do not reveal definite neurotic symptoms. The majority present neuroses as severe and an instability as great as can be found among the members of this group who have no connection with the world of art.

A close study of the artist and his personality in connection with the subjective types, both introvert and extravert, will reveal that he is primarily a member of this psychological group with all the difficulties of adaptation and adjustment that belong to it. The individual who possesses the capacity for psychic creation has this great advantage over the majority of the same type; he can justify his turning away from reality because in its place he offers another reality of his own creation, and in this way wins an acceptance of himself

[1] Clark Lectures.

through his gift. At the same time the inadequate mastering of reality which produces such a sense of inferiority in the ego is compensated by his creative work. However, there exists in every one what can be called an organic urge towards objective reality adaptation and this is so great that even this new and distinct utilization of the unadapted libido is generally unequal to a real ego development. This is shown in the extreme sensitivity of the artist as well as in the distress and dissatisfaction which occur when his creative activity temporarily ceases. The general external attitude of superiority with which he compensates the opposite feeling pushed into the unconscious, is a well recognized phenomenon.

The supreme artist possesses what can be called a primary relation between the objective and subjective aspects of his psychic organism, so that functions belonging to each category gain a validity rarely possessed by the ordinary man or by lesser artists. He has attained, futhermore, an established and adequate relation between the different psychic functions so that through their stimulation a fusion is achieved which is manifested in the production of the new work.

But there are as many forms of psychic organization among artists as there are forms of physical organization among ordinary people. Among artists, therefore, we find men of the highest type as well as of the most infantile and limited development. The art product, likewise, ranges from the supreme type of objective art to the most completely subjective productions, embryonic in type. Dependent upon his actual objective achievement in relation to himself as object or in relation with the outer world, his art will possess a stronger objective or a more subjective character.

In every case, however, the production of an art work is preceded by what can be called a *psychic coitus between the puer æternus and the soul* within himself and when, through some psychic interference or weakness, this does not take place, no art child will be produced. It is this play with

himself, which is at one and the same time a sort of symbolic incest relation and an autoerotic process, that sets the artist apart from the rest of humanity and serves to produce his intense self-love and general disregard of others. His chief interest and love are given to that other being, the subjective feminine component within himself, his soul figure, through whose aid his psychic children are produced. To be sure he often projects her image upon some person in the outer world, for he possesses objective needs as well, but primarily this is for the sake of her stimulation or value to him as a creator. However, another person brings in the problem of reality, and reality has claims of its own and cannot be completely submissive to the will of another. Therefore, when the artist marries he generally cannot maintain for long the reality relation he has assumed, for what he actually wants and needs in marriage is a mother who will sacrifice all willingly for him, give much and demand little in return. He desires to be the spoilt and favorite child, for his own interest is occupied primarily, and often exclusively, with his creative activity and its product, and objective reality only exists for him as something that can contribute to his main purpose in life.

In regard to his art children he behaves much like the mother in Barrie's play, "The Legend of Lenore," whose irresponsible conduct and complete disregard for others were all excused and even thought charming, because—"my little girl has a cold."

The ruthlessness with which the artist will sacrifice everything and every one, all other personal and individual values to the insatiable appetite of his creative urge is expressed by Bernard Shaw in his inimitable way when he compares the driving impulse of the artist with the biological purpose of the woman:

> The true artist will let his wife starve, his children go barefoot, his mother drudge for his living at seventy, sooner than work at anything but his art. . . . He gets into intimate rela-

> tions with women to study them, to surprise their inmost secrets, knowing that they have power to rouse his deepest creative energies, to rescue him from his cold reason, to make him see visions and dream dreams, to inspire him, as he calls it. He persuades women that they may do this for their own purpose while he really means them to do it for his. He steals the mother's milk and blackens it to make printer's ink to scoff at her and glorify ideal woman with. He pretends to spare her the pangs of child-bearing so that he may have for himself the tenderness and fostering that belong of right to her children. Since marriage began the artist has been known as the bad husband. But he is worse: he is a child-robber, a bloodsucker, a hypocrite, and a cheat. Perish the race, and wither a thousand women if only the sacrifice of them enable him to act Hamlet better, to paint a finer picture, to write a deeper poem, a greater play, a profounder philosophy. . . . In the rage of his creation he is as ruthless as the woman, as dangerous to her as she to him and as horribly fascinating. Of all human struggles there is none so treacherous and remorseless as the struggle between the artist man and the mother woman.[1]

In this merciless dissection of the nature of the artist there is revealed very clearly the presence of a purely collective being responding directly to the imperious drive of nature, entirely regardless of all those qualities of character and personality with which we associate an individual at all adapted to the claims of humanity. The distinction between the artist man and the instinctive mother woman, equally the instrument of nature for her own purposes, lies in this, that woman creates physiologically and for this purpose must have the man, another being outside herself as partner in her creative scheme and therefore she caters to him, while the artist *bears the woman within himself* with whom he enters into a psychic coitus and from whom, through him, proceeds the child, his art.

However, in the psychology of the artist it is possible to recognize the creative value and higher significance which lie

[1] *Man and Superman.*

in this play with himself—autoerotism, narcissism, if you please. For instead of a sterile infantile sexual wish or gratification which, if confined to the physical plane would mean a weakly destructive self-indulgence, this play becomes, when understood and used symbolically on the subjective plane, the means through which the highest human values are produced. Furthermore, the feeling of the creator towards himself is that of some one superior in comparison with non-creators, and the exultation which he feels over a creation is the joy of a power and a victory attained.

Gross observes that the creator does not create only for the pleasure of creating but that he also desires to subdue other minds. This can be called the secondary effect, having particularly to do with the creator's self-feeling or ego consciousness in relation to the herd. The creation itself, however, is something arising from the nature of the creative person. It is profoundly concerned with that sexual constitution which provides the mechanism of biological creation and which is equally the source of the specific human creativeness.

There is as much difference among different artists in the mode of conduct of the psychic sexual act as there is among men in relation to the physical act of coitus. Just as there are men capable of exercising the highest control over the impulse, the Hindoo, for example, who has brought the sexual act to the height of an art, so there are artists who exercise a similar control and domination over their psychic processes. And at the other extreme there are many men among whose numbers artists are most frequently found, in whom the impulse dominates so completely that all control is lost and in the physical act they are violently swept along to an immediate culmination. This same process takes place in the psychic realm when the artist is possessed by the unconscious processes and produces in a state of hectic activity what we call unconscious art. There is no control or discipline exercised over the material but it comes forth with an overpowering intensity and directness. This sort of production generally must stand or

fall by its initial quality, for these artists can rarely work over or change the product after it is once expressed.

It must be remembered that the artist possesses within himself at one and the same time the mechanism of the male sexual activity and the birth process of the female, both raised from the physical to the psychic plane. Therefore the attitude and reactions of artists towards their art children reveal an attitude similar to that which mothers in general possess towards their children. There is the same sensitivity to any criticism, the same possessive pride, the same devotion and love, with the accompanying anxiety and distress concerning them. On the other hand, there is a variability among artists in the mode of adaptation to their art child similar to that which is found among mothers following the birth of the child. There are women whose health and general sense of well being, both physical and spiritual, is vastly improved during gestation and who are really functioning satisfactorily only when they are pregnant, the end of the satisfaction occurring quite definitely with the birth of the child. These women have no real interest or pleasure in the care of the infant or in its training and rearing and when possible generally turn this part of the mother's function over to others.

Comparable to this type of mother is that artist who is simply the instrument for the expression of the unconscious-impulse activity. He is possessed by the instinctive impulse toward his form of creation as much as any organism that responds in a purely physical manner to the sexual urge of biological reproduction. In other words, the soul takes command and dominates him completely, so that he possesses no control over his product and has little inclination to serve it further, once it is brought to birth. His creation, whatever may be its form, picture, music, or poem, shares the same fate as the child brought to birth by the process of nature, then turned from by the mother and refused the love and care necessary for its proper development.

There are many persons of this type but they can scarcely

be called true artists any more than can the women who are simply instruments of the life impulse, be called true mothers. These artists are really only mediums used by the unconscious processes, and their art children whether good or bad are entirely dependent upon their heredity and not upon the conscious personal contribution of their parent.

On the other hand we have the true artists who invariably have brought to their creations the loving surrender of all that they have and are; who suffer all the pain of experience and submit to long distasteful discipline better to serve their creative purpose; whose gift consists not only in an unconscious mechanism which just so often controls them, but in a complete dedication of their efforts and energies in all seriousness to their destiny. These are the artists for whom no effort is too much and no sacrifice too great that will contribute to their creations. This aspect of the process has given rise to the saying that, "Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains."

These artists are like the mothers who seriously enter into their maternity and devote their lives to the loving care and upbringing of their children, gaining their own personal development of character and individuality through the experience and self-sacrifice, the adaptation to their destiny, which such an attitude produces. Goethe and Rodin are two great modern artists who illustrate this attitude most conspicuously. Of few artists can it be said, as it was of Goethe: "As a man he is admired and loved even more than as an artist." And few artists possess the working attitude described by Bernard Shaw when he wrote of Rodin: "He works like an old river god." A study of the lives and mode of work of these two men reveals most clearly the extraordinary adaptation which they achieved toward both the objective and the subjective worlds and the great individual development gained on the human plane as well as the great art produced.

The activity of the creative impulse in man is utilized by his organism in three definite forms: *first:* on the biological

plane in the reproduction of his kind, similar in all respects to the process found in all animal life; *second:* in the production of art and culture, and *third:* in the production of a greater and more completely human individual. These two latter forms of creation find their highest expression in the great artists and mystics. There are a few great artists who have been able to utilize their life's experience for their own growth as well as for the material for their new creative purposes. They could recognize in the work produced its value for themselves as well as its universal value. Goethe is a great outstanding example of this type. We see him continuously exhibiting the same intense desire to attain a higher development as a human being, to gain control over himself and to become a greater man, as well as to become a greater artist. Consequently his experiences, together with the pain and suffering produced by his own passionate nature, were taken into himself, and utilized for his own development. Thus they were assimilated, becoming part of himself before being used as the material out of which his art was created.

This, however, is a very difficult task for the artist to achieve, because here the one individual must use his creative libido in two different ways both of which belong to a human psychic process instead of to a physical one. This achievement demands a maturity of the highest order. The conscious utilization of experience and of the creative energy in the service of a higher self-creation actually belongs to the reality function and, therefore, appertains to a different category than art creation (since one generally considers oneself a bit of reality). Because, for the artist, the psychic processes through which his art is produced play the most important part in his functioning, his primary use of reality and experience is in the service of his new creations, and not for the purpose of his psychic development. His individual value is swallowed up in his creative activity; therefore from the standpoint of individual maturity he frequently remains quite the child despite his varied experiences with life. The experiences are held away

from his own personality, stimulating instead his creative mechanism and becoming the food for his new production. In this way he can remain personally quite untouched. However, the individual psychology of the artist is always expressed, even when, as in all great art, the personal character of the work is transformed and raised into the impersonal and universal. Therefore, through his art creation, the artist may win his own development as definitely as can the ordinary man through his adaptation and conquest of objective reality itself.

But the majority do not realize that they are expressing in their work their own problems and psychological status. They believe they are creating independent characters and ideas or themes which are entirely children of their brain, having nothing to do with themselves. Frequently, therefore, the same theme in different forms is repeated again and again; for the artist has gained nothing for himself through his creations, but remains at the same stage of development as when he began. Such art products are little more than a form through which the unconscious tendencies and desires of the artist gain an independent expression. It is merely his private and personal property; its wholly subjective character is obvious and the explanation of its content is found in the individual psychology of the artist himself.

Besides this factor of maturity and immaturity as it affects the art product, there is also the factor of psychological type. I have already referred to the artist as belonging most generally to the subjective or bisexual types but these are particularly differentiated, according to their relation towards the object, into the subjective extravert type and the emotional introvert. This distinction provides an element of the greatest importance for the art product. It determines the character of the art—for introverted art is entirely distinct from extraverted art even among the greatest artists, and in their reactions towards life there is the same type distinction as is found among ordinary persons.

Thus the product of the creative artist reveals very clearly

the degree of maturity attained in the subjective realm as well as his special type of art—in the same way that the individual attitude and adapation achieved towards external reality reveals the maturity attained in the objective realm.

The Goethes of the world have been few and where is the other great artist of whom it could be said: "He is everything that he is with his whole soul, eminent statesman, scientist, connoisseur of art." He was fully conscious of the great problem of the modern man, the problem of the twice born man, which he expresses so well:

> "Two souls, alas, reside within my breast,
> And each from the other rends and tears itself."

His attitude towards outer reality is well summed up in his brave effort to disregard the inevitable companion of the man who identifies himself wholly with the outer external world and attempts to disregard the equally important inner subjective aspect as a source of happiness and fulfilment. Therefore when Care comes to trouble his soul, he speaks as the once born man standing firmly on external reality and taking refuge in its objective and tangible properties.

> There is enough to know about the earthly sphere,
> The Beyond from sight forever is debarred!
> A man's a fool to grope with blinking eyes,
> Dreaming in clouds above his fellow men.
> Let him stand firmly here and look around,
> To the capable, the world is never dumb!
> Why must he ramble through eternity?
> First let him gain and utilize the known!
> Roam down the pathway of his earthly days,
> When spirits haunt him, let him go his way,
> Though at the moment still unsatisfied,
> Find joy or torment striding to his goal!

The great work of *Faust* embodies the high achievement of Goethe, the equal consideration of both worlds, and the attempt

to render to each its due. From this standpoint the character of Faust symbolizes the great problem of modern life, the struggle between the claims of the outer sensuous world and the inner self-created world wholly dependent upon man's own evolution, and it embodies Goethe's effort at synthesis and solution.

In Goethe's life one can see clearly objectified the typical struggle of the extravert, whose great difficulty is to keep himself from being absorbed and lost in objects, coupled with great creative genius. He was warm, outgoing to the object, interested in people and things with a whole-souled giving of himself, living impetuously through one phase after another, until such time as the subjective aspect of his nature intervened. The interest and joy in life and the world did not hold him steadily bound, therefore we see him withdrawing from his friends, plunged into moods of depression and melancholy, struggling with his experiences, and finally giving them forth transformed in an art production of objective character. He himself says "my productions always kept pace with my experience." His intuitive and subjective character gave him clearly defined feminine qualities and characteristics which he recognized himself and at the same time his dominant masculinity was such that he could never be thought of in any way other than as thoroughly masculine both as an artist and as an individual. Although he was fully conscious of his genius and destiny nowhere is there manifested that egotism, arrogance, and "will to power" which so often shadows the character of the opposite type—for instance, a great artist like Dante.

In Shakespeare's art and in Shakespeare the man, as far as we know him, we can find another great artist whose outlook on life and relation to it included both worlds. There is, however, this psychological difference between the work of Goethe and the work of Shakespeare; Goethe represented and embodied the struggle and conflict of the twice born, the necessity for adaptation to two worlds and their ultimate synthesis

through a new spiritual development. Shakespeare presented characters of every type of human being, but their problems were concerned entirely with their relation to this world. According to their conduct and attitude towards it, their adaptation to its varied demands, and to the environment in which they found themselves, did they fare good or ill. They are individually responsible and there is no other problem raised. The problem of other world adaptation—of a higher synthesis of discordant tendencies in the individual—does not enter. It is the here and now; no disturbing questions of why and whither or of ultimates are felt, and therefore no effort at solutions is made. Shakespeare carries out superbly the objective aspect of Goethe's attitude, and a study of his wonderful portrayal of character types, leaves one in no doubt of his own relation to the external object and to outer reality. It possessed for him a validity and meaning of its own to which he adapted, and considered it good.

Nevertheless his marvelous portrayal of individuals reveals that, if one man created all these distinct psychological types, many of whom obviously belonged to the twice born group, he must have been conscious of the claims of both worlds, although he chose to emphasize but one. A careful study of Shakespeare's life and work seems to leave no doubt that he belonged, like Goethe, to the extravert type; nevertheless an artist so great in character delineation must have transcended in himself the limitations of any one type. Among the Shakespearean creations all our psychological types are to be found clearly defined and presented with a marvelous fidelity to the special characteristics and dominant traits and reactions belonging to each type. They range from an emotional introvert like Hamlet to a subjective extravert like Richard II or Romeo; from the great extraverted man of action like Henry V to the introvert idealist like Brutus, with all the variations between, which maturity and its opposite, infantilism, together with the special functions emphasized in the particular individual, produce in similar types. All these different type char-

acteristics must have belonged in some degree to Shakespeare's character, and we can be certain that, besides being a great creative artist, he was also a great genius as a human individual. In Shakespeare's art we have the supreme and perfect union between the inner subjective elements and the outer objective matter, so that the product can be called adapted art; that is, art having a defined relation to the objective world, the real world according to our sense perceptions. It is mature art, and Shakespeare gives us an impression of a mature personality belonging definitely to his world and content to play his part in it.

There are many eminent men who have achieved a high development either on the subjective plane or on the objective plane in relation to the outer world, but it is rare to find in one person an equal maturity in respect to both aspects. One attainment is usually gained at the expense of the other.

This distinction can be observed in a great artist like Blake, whose creative capacities found equal expression in two art forms. On the practical and objective side he was so illy adapted to his environment that he was called insane by many. He attained, however, on the subjective side, the side of the ideal created by man, a high degree of maturity. His interest was entirely occupied by his subjective visions and creative productions, and so far, he was extremely one-sided. But to any one who has studied the capacities and possibilities of the human mind from the standpoint of analytical psychology Blake will not appear insane unless all people capable of producing visions and hallucinations are to be called insane. As this capacity is possessed by most normal minds, I cannot grant this in itself to have pathological significance.

Blake is a subjective extravert type who from boyhood was orientated towards his subjectively created world and for him this was the greater reality. The soul was his mistress and he served her faithfully, submitting to all the hardship and

discipline of his choice without complaint. In this attitude a real development of his being and an adaptation to the claims of his inner world took place.

Blake illustrates the extreme subjectivity which can possess the mind of the extravert type as well as that of the introvert. Indeed this is one of the states where the distinctions between extravert and introvert tend to disappear as pointed out in the chapter on types. But the distinction lies in this: they are not *identified* with the subjective world as is the introvert. They live in it in a way similar to that which characterizes the introvert in his relation to the objective world.

On account of their peculiar relation to the collective unconscious, which is the source of inspiration for all artists, and the connection with the soul, the distinctions between the two subjective types of extravert and introvert tend at best to become obscured to the ordinary observer. The differences are chiefly associated with their attitude towards the world of external reality, the actual feelings for life and its demands and their reactions to experiences. Both types are subject to moods, they are subjective, sensitive, and impressionable, but as before emphasized, the extravert type presents a friendly attitude to the object which he regards as something desirable to become associated with or part of; while the introvert type as a rule feels himself alien and regards the world and its activities suspiciously, and as something against which he must remain on his guard.

In presenting these three great artists together and as representative of the extravert types, it is possible to see, in the differences among them, the distinguishing marks of the variations inside of one large division: Shakespeare, the great genius of this world's values and honors, the stage whereon the good and evil do battle; Blake, the great genius of the other world, the world of the spirit, whose values are not to be found in the sensuous life of the here and now, but in that subjective realm to which man alone has access; Goethe, the

genius of life, the poet and artist who lives in both realms and who attains in himself a marvelous maturity and adaptation in relation to both.

Perhaps nowhere in literature can the contrast between the subjective extravert and emotional introvert types of artists both in their personalities and in their art be seen more clearly than in Goethe and Schiller. In Schiller we have the direct antithesis to Goethe in character and attitude towards the world as well as in his creations. To Schiller the world was a harsh mistress; he shrank from it into his world of thought and idealism, and, although exceedingly sensitive and delicate, his sensitivity was of a different order from that of Goethe. For him the changes of weather, sun or storm, rain or cloud, made little impression while for the outgoing Goethe every changing mood was reflected in his feelings and affected his mental state.

In their creative work is seen the same contrast: Goethe's art deals with the objective material, that is, actual concrete situations, people and experiences withdrawn from the world into himself, charged with his creative power, re-formed and given out again. His characters are distinct and defined living human beings in themselves who express through their personalities what they are and who do not depend upon actions for their life. Schiller's art is subjective in character, his characters gaining reality and definiteness only through action, otherwise presenting but shadowy outlines, creatures of his thought, but not of life. In one, action proceeds from being, in the other action proceeds from thought and may be quite divorced from being.

Even in the youth of the poets, there is clearly revealed the opposite reactions of the two natures. Goethe threw himself eagerly into reality and identified himself with the object, his sympathetic feeling and love for life an outstanding characteristic, while the young Schiller had to learn "that to arrive at the ideal world, I must first gain a footing in the real." His

greatness lies in this recognition arrived at through thought. Of nature he himself says: "I was not yet capable of comprehending nature at first hand: I had but learned to admire her *image reflected in the understanding*,[1] and put in order by rules." In this comprehension of himself Schiller has expressed in a line the real psychology of the introvert type. This essential difference in the nature of the two men, both earnest and sincere characters and both possessing poetic genius of a high order, is such that any study of the artist type must be considered from this aspect of the problem.

For the contrast between the various types of artists, even when they belong to the same period and school, and work in the same medium, is always present. The intellectual introvert type inclines to the more formal, exact, and restrained attitude; the extravert type expresses his emotions freely, following phantasy, extravagance, and the play of his imagination, and the emotional introvert does the same, but in the opposite direction. We can see this latter distinction clearly in two men like Wagner and Nietzsche. And in Dante and Milton we have two great introvert artists who clearly reveal the distinctions among the introvert types. There could never be any doubt as to the type to which Dante belongs.

His great work, *The Divine Comedy*, bears all the distinctive characteristics of the emotional introvert type and, even though we knew nothing of Dante himself, it would be impossible for an extravert to have produced such a work. As it is, we know something of Dante's character, and the emotional intensity, the haughty superiority, the sense of separateness, the intellectual pride, the hate, and the general difficulty in relation to the world, coupled with the darkness and horrors of the Inferno, make up the particular quality which can be found only in the introvert. With Dante love is entirely idealistic and remains attached with singular consistency all his life long to his soul image embodied in the divine Beatrice. Conversely he obviously met reality, the objects of the external

[1] Italics my own.

world, with hate instead of love, for his love belonged to the inner object and the subjective world.

The Divine Comedy is perhaps the greatest example of a subjective work of art, but this does not mean that Dante did not bring great technical skill and a well disciplined mind trained in all the knowledge of his age to his work. The emphasis in this production, however, is entirely upon the subjective and ideal elements; Beatrice was the personification of his inner love object, and from the union with her, his poetic children were born. From a study of his life it is obvious that he was a most illy adapted person, violent, domineering, imperious and egotistic in the extreme. His great creative genius was used for the satisfaction of his ego, and not for his own development as a greater human being. To himself he was already this—and in this attitude toward himself he presents the greatest contrast to Goethe.

Although equally devoted to his subjective world and equally badly adapted to external reality, Blake appears simple and childlike compared to Dante. Both are great artists concerned chiefly with other world values, the spiritual in place of the material; nevertheless there is the greatest difference in the character of the art as well as in the type of artist.

Among Anglo Saxons, Milton approaches nearer to Dante in type than any other, and singularly his great work was also concerned with Paradise. Milton is the unemotional intellectual introvert artist, the simple introvert type according to my classification, a type of artist rarely found among Anglo-Saxons. Although the specific character of the psychic mechanism is similar, Milton, unlike the impetuous, emotional Dante, was the reserved, quiet, and aloof scholar, the great idealist, also correspondingly unadapted to the world of external reality. His art is based not on the external facts of life and experience in the real world, but on his ideal conceptions, married to his intellect, so that in this art we have the typical child of the thinking introvert, an objective art, as distinguished from the subjective art of Dante or Blake.

Thus always the art production carries within it the particular psychological development of the artist and the record of his achievement in his individual relation to reality.

Decadent art is produced through the same inner mechanism that produces healthy vital art, just as a defective child comes through the same physical process that produces a genius, but decadent art has a definite relation to the decadent life of its creator. The individual whose sexuality has not attained any normal integration on the side of reality, but is still caught in the stage of infantilism and fixated on perverse and distorted substitutes for adult satisfaction which he attempts to justify and rationalize, is decadent. He is the living analogy to the decadent art product. It savors of death and disintegration, its sources are stagnant, and it is infected with decay.

The psychology of the artist certainly reveals the basis and justification of man's enmity towards the dominating power of the sexual impulse—the most powerful element in life which he, in contradistinction to all other animals, possesses subject only to his individual will. It is either the great destroyer of all that is or the great creator of all that may be, and in the existence of great creative geniuses mankind finds the justification for his struggle and the inspiration for the future.

VIII

THE PROCESS OF REINTEGRATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In entering upon the important subject of the practical work of analysis, I shall not follow the ordinary medical custom of discussing the symptom complex as a disease entity behind which the individual disappears; nor shall I refer to persons as "neurotic characters," "hysteric characters," "obsessional characters," and so on. It is certainly important and necessary to recognize the peculiarities and similarities of certain symptom groups, and to be able to diagnose and classify symptoms of psychic origin. It is also highly important to be able to differentiate them from similar symptoms which may be caused by a direct organ involvement or toxic condition. But this is a different matter. My objections to the consideration of the symptom group as the entity are, first, that the emphasis laid upon a set of mechanisms and morbid reactions tends to depreciate the individual as the unit of value; second, that the differences and distinctions, often revealed through minor variations in the symptom product, are lost sight of and disregarded; and, third, that an erroneous conception is created of the symptom complex itself.

We know that the subjective types as a class provide the larger number of those individuals referred to as neurotics, but there is a considerable difference between the two groups, the emotional introverts and the subjective extraverts, although they may both present similar sets of symptoms.

The hysterias, the anxiety and the compulsion neuroses, called by Freud the transference neuroses, may all appear in both these types but the individual belonging to one type needs a different consideration from that of the other. The tendency

FIG. 10

FIG. 11

Drawings from the unconscious by a young woman with no art training. Her psychic attitude is revealed in two different phases.

to consider the disease entity instead of the person has been a fault long combated in general medical practice, but for psychological science and therapy it is a particularly unfortunate procedure. It leads to the assumption that a like action performed by two different persons possesses the same significance, whereas a little study will frequently show that the motives impelling the action may be entirely different. This discrimination is recognized colloquially in the saying, "It is all right if Jones does this but quite another matter if Smith does it."

On the other hand one may find similar psychic causes producing very different effects, so that, unlike organic diseases where a certain morbid process—infection or degenerative change—produces definite and distinctive symptom reactions fairly easily recognized, the manifestations and reactions in the realm of psychic diseases and disturbances are as varied as the products of nature herself.

The neurosis develops when the hitherto normal individual reaches a point where his psychological needs, their tendencies and functions which have been previously unrecognized or neglected, become active and through the conflict produced, are expressed in a form determined largely by his type. Usually this form bears some relation to the particular aspect of the personality which is undeveloped and latent.

The hysteric neuroses, in which the undeveloped psychological functions express themselves most commonly through bodily organs in some form of physical symptom, are found in their pure state chiefly among the extravert and emotional introvert types. They reveal the psychic need of the individual and the effort at activation of functions which have never been adequately utilized and hence are undeveloped. Any other mode of activity is relatively impossible at the time regardless of how primitive and inadequate this may be. Their expression as a consequence is unsuitable for the rest of the personality. The individual possesses, however, the strength and energy which belong to the adult, in contradistinction to the child, and consequently when the tension becomes sufficient the

undeveloped functions can force themselves into consciousness and claim attention through disturbing physical symptoms. The most common and frequent of these are the various disturbances of the gastro-intestinal tract, but all other organs are available for this purpose.

The pure anxieties, phobias, and obsessions belong particularly to the introvert types, but here no rigid lines can be drawn. They are all indications of an inadequate development and integration of certain psychological functions with the total self, and represent faulty efforts at compensation. These neurotic conditions can be found amongst people of all sorts, from the most capable and apparently adapted personalities to the most immature and unadapted. We are prone to satisfy ourselves by disposing of the latter class as inferior personalities, calling them hysterics, neurotics, or degenerates. But how can this judgment be made to serve when we are confronted with these other individuals who, as far as achievement in the objective world is concerned, have lived the most successful and satisfactory lives? These people have not been troubled heretofore by neurotic doubts and inadequacies; they have dealt with the obstacles and difficulties of life in a happy and decisive manner; yet, when the neurosis breaks out, they manifest identically the same symptoms, with the same weakness of character and indecision, as the person who has been regarded as an essential neurotic, undisciplined and inferior. They are usually, to be sure, far more favorable material for treatment, and yet there is an essential underlying psychological relation between all grades of individuals, from the undeveloped, undisciplined character at the one extreme to the highly disciplined capable character at the other.

The chief distinction is one of degree, not of kind, for a completely developed and integrated individual is rarely found. The same fundamental psychic condition is present in all, the differences being that in one group the whole personality is immature and undeveloped; that is, the various psychic functions belonging to the total personality are all in varying de-

grees inadequate and unsynthesized; while in the other group certain functions have been utilized and developed perhaps very highly indeed, but on the other side there are correspondingly inferior functions, so that a one-sided development only is achieved. Those functions which have preserved their immature and infantile character are the ones which come to the fore in the neurosis, and therefore the behavior can be as weak and inferior as in the first class.

From the discussion in the previous chapters on psychological types, and on the distinctions in the psychology between women and men, some conception may be gained of the exceeding complexity of the problem of human psychology and of the difficulty accompanying any attempt to present a general description of the process leading to a reorganization and greater development of the individual.

Although the ability to recognize the special type to which the individual belongs is of the greatest value, affording general outlines of the special collective reactions dominating him, nevertheless, *each person is a distinct entity differing from all others,* and must be considered from this standpoint, in the final analysis.

The struggle is in every case concerned essentially with individual differentiation. Therefore the first practical step necessary is to gain some idea of the stage of development attained by the individual and to determine whether his psychological type is clearly defined or whether he is still undefined, *i.e.,* in a state of psychic identity with nature. This procedure finds an analogy in the general technic of medical therapy which demands that one first arrive at a diagnosis of the disease, instead of directing treatment to symptoms, as was formerly done. Freud follows this method in classifying his cases according to the type of neuroses—hysteria, compulsion neuroses, anxieties, phobias; and in his discussion of their significances and of the processes which he considers underlie the symptoms, he is careful to insist that all he says of the interpretation be-

longs specifically to the transference neuroses and to them alone.[1]

The method discussed in these pages differs from this in that it considers the person himself as playing the chief rôle instead of as being an appendage to a complex or a disease process. The totality of the self is the basis for the interpretation—for the line of demarkation between the neurotic and the well person is almost invisible as they pass from one to the other. As Jung expressed it long ago, healthy persons suffer from the same complexes from which the neurotic persons fall ill.

The diagnosis of the individual according to his psychological type affords the first step in differentiating him from the great mass of humanity, and insures a general knowledge of the probable mode of reaction and response, and the attitude he will reveal as a member of the particular type. Following this orientation, it is necessary to discover what particular psychological functions have been the dominant ones used in the adaptation. For *in this particular lie the great differences among individuals of the same general type.*

The great importance which I set upon the diagnosis of the psychological type lies in this; that no person can find his individual path except inside his own psychological type, and no effort unconsciously made by him towards transcendence of his type possesses value unless his primary functioning has followed the line of his own collective type mechanisms. Identification with the psychology of others and functioning by means of reaction formations are fatal to individual psychic growth and development.

Through experience one learns very definitely that there is no escape from the confines of psychological type by ignoring it, or by attempting to transcend its limitations before actually possessing them—in other words, before having lived adequately inside them. It becomes clear from observation that when we speak of normal persons, we mean first of all those who are functioning within the normal confines of their own

[1] Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, pp. 252-302.

type. This does not mean, however, that this functioning *insures* normality among these individuals, but that there are no wholly normal persons whose psychic reactions are in opposition to those belonging to their type, whether this arises through reaction formation or through identification with others. This very condition itself produces a conflict and a difficulty with adaptation and achievement, which is manifested in conduct and feelings of inadequacy and weakness.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in determining types is produced by the condition which we call reaction formation. This presents such a varied and many-sided picture, and the obscurities produced by this mechanism are so great and at the same time so disastrous to the individual himself that the determination of this form of adaptation is most essential. The result of this mechanism is a habitual tendency to function in a manner contrary to what is normal to the type and as a consequence always inadequately; that is, either overexaggeratedly or through losing the full value of the gesture. One observes this again and again in persons who apparently go through the same motions as others, with a similar desire as the stimulus of the behavior. And yet as far as results are concerned they fall short of the attainment of others who, with little effort not externally different, are successful. For all such persons, the first great necessity is that they should be reinstated within their own type. Extravert types are found reacting and behaving like introvert types and, even more commonly, introverts functioning as extraverts, with the result that the actual values belonging to each type are obscured or lost to the individual and the reaction formation proves inadequate for the purpose and destructive to the individual principle. This mechanism does not mean, as might be thought, the real attainment of the values of both types; for it is an overcompensation or a process of escape, something superimposed, *not evolved*. One achieves purpose and satisfaction with the least friction only when one follows the normal mechanism of one's own psychology and thus attains its full value.

Besides these individuals there are others who do not possess the values of their own type because their psychic functions have never emerged from the unconscious to become part of their conscious selves. Their psychology can be more nearly compared to the early primitive type than that of others who may be undeveloped and infantile in their total psychic reactions, but whose functions are all active instead of being limited to or concentrated upon one particular function to the exclusion of the others which have remained quite latent.

This condition is nowhere more evident than among persons who have a highly developed function of thought and a fine capacity for abstract logical deductions and rationality. The contrast between this valuable capacity and the primitive concreteness and objectivity of the thought when applied to living processes and relations is most astonishing and instructive. For these persons are often those who appear most easy and harmonious in their behavior—no stress and storm of feeling and emotion sweep them and no superstitious or disturbing questionings trouble their minds. When they can obtain a formula by which all phenomena can be simply explained, they are content. All goes well until such time as a situation in life arises in which other functions are demanded—either they miss the situation altogether or else the undeveloped functions are forced into activity, intuition, or feeling for instance, and then these naïve, untroubled natures are at once thrown into distress and chaos. The irrational, unaccountable elements have supervened, and the logical thought processes are confronted with unexpected and unknown demands which they are quite unable to encompass. There is no place for the irrational or fortuitous in their psychology. The individual thus finds himself at a complete loss, for he is without adequate functions with which to grasp the new and living factors.

Or it may be, that after a time the latent functions of themselves, through the ordinary processes of development, begin to stir into activity just as in the physical realm certain organs are not fully matured or properly placed at birth; for instance,

in the male the testis may not have descended from the abdominal cavity and only after birth slowly during growth does the descent take place. The latent psychic functions may manifest themselves at a later period, and of necessity in an inferior form, so that the fine thinker becomes foolishly sentimental and weak where feeling is concerned or, where sensation is an inferior function, he begins to perceive disagreeable or unpleasant physical or psychical sensations, or to express crudities in behavior unknown before. It is all these factors operating within the individual psyche which create the important distinctions in the mode of reaction to similar actual circumstances. For instance, the first object of love for all normal persons is the parents, and as such is a natural phenomenon of no special import. The important factor is, in what way has this natural emotional relation been reacted to by the child; what significance has the individual placed upon it for himself, and how has his psychic inheritance behaved in relation to this fundamental situation? For as far as conscious direction in these matters goes, it plays no part whatsoever.

When the function of feeling is the one with which the world is apprehended and consciousness affected, the more certain are all personal relationships to become affective problems. The way in which the individual is affected will depend largely on the relative strength of the ego instincts and the love instincts, and upon whether his collective or individual tendency is dominant.

When the function of thought is the means by which the world is apprehended, then the personal relations are much less apt to be the disturbing factors, but the relation to practical action, to the grasp of the actual living processes of the phenomenal world, provides the particular problems. But all one-sided development will eventually produce disturbance and dissatisfaction if not a definite neurosis, as the need for a fuller functioning becomes intensified and the former adaptation begins to fail.

I shall illustrate what I mean: Here are two women who at

about the same age, forty-five and forty-seven years, develop neuroses; in common parlance they suffer a nervous breakdown. Prior to this neither woman could have been called neurotic or abnormal in any way.

The first one is unmarried and apparently without any wish for child or husband. She is a successful professional woman who has led a very active and useful life. She has achieved a recognized position for herself, has thoroughly enjoyed her chosen work and has never been conscious of any wish for a change of status. All her hopes and ambitions have been centered in her work and have been actually fulfilled beyond her dreams. At the period of highest attainment she falls ill with obscure symptoms of a digestive disorder. She is treated by the best medical men but she improves very little. Other organs become involved. She struggles bravely to get well, follows all the advice given but, instead of responding, she grows worse. A little relief is followed by a return in intensified form of all her symptoms. Added to these now appear emotional accompaniments—fears, inability to be alone, hysterical crying, and depression, all accentuated because of her former rather scornful attitude towards "hysterical women," and to all irrational, uncontrolled conduct.

The first explanation of this situation is menopause, that convenient label for ills at this age in woman. The next, for those who look at the matter from a physio-psychological standpoint, is her lack of husband and children. She has denied her feminine functions and the hysteria at this age is nature's protest at her disregard of her biological task.

But what of the other woman? She had married at twenty years of age, has borne five children whom she has reared successfully. Her home and family are all she cared for; she had no career or ambitions for one other than to be the helpmeet and friend of her loved husband in his career, the homemaker and social center for her family—her outer collective activities appearing in the most approved form, charities, interest in general affairs, and community matters. She has

never been "nervous" or neurotic before, but now, at forty-seven years of age, she too suffers a "breakdown." It appears in the same form of gastric and intestinal symptoms, for which all the usual methods of treatment have been employed, including, in this case, operation. But the symptoms continue, to which others of distinctly neurotic character are added. She becomes an invalid, with occasional "good" days and attempts at normal living for short periods but with no actual relief. Finally the thought comes that she will not live a useless life any longer, that she is not needed by her family and, in the depression, a suicidal attempt is made. So the condition continues for nearly three years. Then she arrives at a definite decision—she will either find something satisfactory to occupy her life usefully or she will end it for good. Here appears the constructive idea beside the negative one. But what is possible for a woman fifty years old, without any training for serious work in the world, without any talent or ability of any kind outside of her home-making? She finds her mind playing with the phantasy of something artistic. An apparent chance throws in her way a person engaged as artisan in one of the arts that seems attractive and perhaps possible in a minor way. At least it offers a beginning.

This beginning developed amazingly and gradually occupied in creative work the unused and dammed-up libido which during three years had only created symptoms with a consequent distress and hopelessness. In an incredibly short time the neurotic invalid of fifty developed a talent and produced an enterprise which has become of international importance. Needless to say, her distressing symptoms entirely disappeared and she enters the third period of her life a healthy, capable woman such as she had been during the previous periods.

In these two cases which I have chosen because of similarities in age, onset of symptoms, and symptoms themselves occurring after a normal and useful life in which no sign of neurotic weakness had appeared, the necessity for individual differentiation which I have emphasized is illustrated. They

both represent a one-sided development, although on opposite sides. They are both simple extravert types, and the transference of the psychic disturbance into physical symptoms and hysterical neuroses followed their psychological type. The particular form of bodily symptoms corresponds also to the most inferior function. In women of this type the function of sensation is less developed than any other; they scarcely ever take cognizance of their bodily sensations, and pursue their aim, whatever it is, as though they had no bodies requiring normal consideration, until some distress of sufficient intensity forces attention upon them. The intestinal tract is the most elementary and primary seat of organic sensation and belongs exclusively to the individual aspect of the organism, the ego, therefore, it is one of the most frequent seats of disturbance in psychic distress.

In the case of the first woman, no personal love life had been lived at all; therefore, for her, all the particularly feminine forms of functioning, child-bearing, motherhood and wifehood were unknown. She had lived a man's life on the work side, handling it in a man's way, although not essentially a masculine type—but there was no living of a man's sexual life. This was simply unknown and unexperienced.

Now this situation would not have necessarily produced the neurosis had this woman recognized the necessity for personal feelings and a rounded psychic development. For the function of feeling as well as sensation was in her case particularly undeveloped. Therefore when that age arrived at which for women generally there is an increased tension before the final extinction of their biological fertility, the undeveloped aspect of the personality became activated and the gastric and intestinal symptoms were the most primitive form in which they could manifest themselves.

In the case of the married woman, she had lived only her collective functions; she had developed nothing individual so that she was psychically dependent upon the interests of husband and children. Her need therefore, was to find an individ-

ual development in which her ego could gain an independence and firmness based on a fulfilment of her capacities. The creative work in which all her latent possibilities could be utilized provided the opportunity needed for this attainment.

This can be misinterpreted to justify the common medical slogan of "getting busy" or of occupation as the need and panacea for hysterical patients. To be sure the busy active lives of these women rather militate against this time-honored advice. But it is not, as is so often thought, just work or occupation of any sort that is of value, but that *special kind of work* which will bring into activity the latent capacities and undeveloped functions of the individual. The work is not the cure—it provides the stimulus, the environmental condition, through which the latent functions of the psyche are aroused and only when the work is of the nature to provide this opportunity does it have a therapeutic value.

I could quote many cases of similar type; men in their most actively useful period—thirty to forty years of age; young women instead of middle-aged ones, in whom the same general processes can be demonstrated.

The analytic method of treatment is not a cure-all or general panacea. The individuals for whom this technic is useful must be selected. When selected, however, no method of which we have any knowledge leads to such desirable and satisfactory results. It is the method wherein the individual counts; where no pretense, or self-pity, or deception can for a moment be tolerated; where any playing or make-believe even though unconscious, immediately turns around upon the individual himself and betrays him. Although a method of education, it stands in complete opposition to all other methods of education. It knows that nothing of any value can be put into an individual—that he already possesses whatever is possible for him to possess; that only by his own efforts following his own inner law can any true development of the possibilities of the self be effected—not through repression of what is considered

by the culture of his day to be undesirable, but through a transmutation following the inner direction of his own being.

It is this great difference in conception and in practical method that provides the contrast between analytic psychology and all other forms of psychic therapy and educational schemes. They one and all have an ideal towards which the individual is directed and into which he is molded regardless of his own particular capacities or tendencies. He is urged or influenced to conform to a system, to adapt to that particular good which the system is organized to uphold, quite regardless of the fact that this particular direction may be for him positively evil instead of good. For instance, a masochistic, non-resistant, impressionable child is taught that so-called self-sacrifice, obedience, and non-aggressiveness are the good and right attitudes. Thus he is reinforced in his weakness when he is positively suffering and inhibited from normal development, because of the inner conflict between the need for self-assertion and positive action, and the negative good attitude which already dominates his personality to its detriment and his own dissatisfaction. Or, on the other hand, the dominating, aggressive, young rebel who disregards everything but his own immediate pleasure aims, receives the same teaching. He may need the discipline, and make the effort to conform to what is imposed upon him. He represses his normal tendencies because of the pressure brought to bear from without and succeeds in the assumption of virtues and attitudes quite lacking in any reality. Instead of any genuine development and satisfactory psychic evolvement only crippled beings and hypocrites are created by these methods.

Various great geniuses and teachers of the race have perceived many truths regarding collective humanity; but it is the individual application of these truths which is so difficult to achieve and which the men with the vision have rarely themselves been able to realize in their own being. When we examine the lives of these teachers and geniuses we see the same difficulties, the same weaknesses, the same domination by inner

conflicts which hamper and limit the lives of lesser men. In the life of a man like Nietzsche, for instance, who preached yea to the world but lived nay, whose vision of the superman was great but whose living embodiment of the ideal does not make us envious, we realize forcibly the difficulty bound up in the individual achievement. Nevertheless, the psychoanalytic method, as before stated, can never be a collective or general process. It belongs strictly to the individual and even here is confined to particular individuals. For it is a fact that the majority of persons are so organized and rigidly involved with their cultural environment that, until suffering and dissatisfaction have arisen causing definite symptoms or incapacity of one kind or another, the resistance against the effort of true self-recognition, and the re-creation of self by self, is too strong to permit the submission to the process. Further, there is a great fear attached to this method, for it is possible one may have to recognize oneself as something less, a more commonplace being, than the secretly cherished image, and to come to this realization is a very painful process indeed. Nevertheless, it proves to be very comforting as well, when one actually knows that at last one is on the path which can lead towards the attainment of what is possible for the individual.

The beginning of the analysis is occupied by the recounting of the life history as far as is known and with the condition or situation in particular which has been the exciting cause of the desire for analysis. Sometimes this is an obvious physical symptom, or a psychic symptom, which has resisted ordinary medical treatment; sometimes it is merely a difficulty with living itself or an inadequacy felt within the self; sometimes the individual feels he is handicapped psychically in some unaccountable way, or is face to face with an objective problem concerning domestic, business or personal life which has overwhelmed his former adequate adaptation. He has become aware of something wrong, and an inner unrest is disturbing him for which he cannot find the satisfactory solution. When

any of these difficulties rise to a height which produces a definite psychic conflict, so that the weakness and inefficiency of the individual himself play the dominant rôle in his consciousness rather than the fault or wrongness of that outside of himself, he is in a proper frame of mind for an examination of his own psychic status, and of the forces and elements, *the symbols,* which dominate him.

As long as a person projects the cause of his misfortune or his symptoms on something external to himself and is not willing to recognize that *to alter his fate means to alter his own psychic attitude and the unconscious forces determining it,* there is no place for the work of analysis. Only when freedom from his symptoms has become the important factor of his life or when he has come to a certain awareness of his own inadequate psychic organization and development as the chief cause of his difficulties can the analytic technic prove useful. The absolute requisite for any successful psychological procedure is the recognition of individual responsibility and of the power of the subjective determinants over the objective conditions.

But one does not need to impress this on the conscious mind of the patient. Analysis itself in a most subtle way gradually produces this effect. For the willed preoccupation with one's own thoughts, feelings, desires, and experiences which analysis requires, gradually brings this attitude about. One is insensibly led from the primitive and infantile placing of responsibility upon objective conditions, powers, or external forces to a realization that each individual really bears his limitations, the cause of his failures and futilities within himself, and through a serious attitude and effort towards the comprehension of himself and his potentialities he can bring some help to bear upon his fate and gain some control over it.

The preliminary discussion of the personal weaknesses, the experiences both subjective and objective, the anamnesis in other words, is of the greatest importance. For this period is one in which the analyst obtains a general intimate view of the totality of the individual, what are the special dangers and

weaknesses and what are the values and strength; and the patient also gains an objective insight and has begun that personal relation to the analyst upon the character of which depends, to the largest degree, the whole success of the work.

This relation, known as transference, in its ordinary aspect is the general one which is present everywhere among people who are attracted to a particular personality, be it their doctor, their clergyman, the teacher, or friend—whoever can be placed in the position as symbol of the ideal object craved by the individual. For in the unconscious there are two models corresponding to the two phases of life, child and parent, on which all love objects are patterned more or less. For each individual these can be and usually are of both sexes. The mother as the primary object of every child based on its complete dependency and identity, and the father as the secondary object, are the fundamental models. These can be the objects sought in the outer world or they can be introjected and the child will be sought. Beside these, however, there should be included a third, that is, the narcissistic object, the self, which also determines, with a very large number of persons, the object choice. The narcissistic object can be projected as well and thus determine the type of object, complementary or opposite, which will provide the completion of the self. In other words, the bisexual character of every individual normally brings about the possibility of the love object appearing within both sexes, under father and mother symbols, or under the child symbols when the individual is identified with parent rôles; or, when the narcissistic attitude is strong, then the nearest object to the self, that is, sister or brother or those coming under that symbol, plays the dominating part.

In this manner all the combinations are rung, so that when the individual comes in contact with a person who can conform to or be fitted into his unconscious pattern, some affective relation generally takes place. As the parents are the first love objects before consciousness of self is awakened, those who function in the superior rôle of physician and teacher call forth

normally an affective feeling similar to that once experienced towards the parents. The very fact that the attention and interest of the analyst is given to the individual in the complete way that is required, without criticism or misunderstanding, is sufficient in itself to call out a responsive feeling from the patient. Therefore there always arises an affective feeling of greater or lesser degree on the part of the patient towards the analyst and through this most important agency all the difficult work of the analysis is carried on.

This emotional relation is called by Freud transference, and it in no way differs in its essence as far as the patient is concerned from any other love feelings called forth in ordinary life. The great difference lies in the attitude of the analyst towards this feeling.

The relation of the analyst to the patient is a very particular and special one, for his knowledge makes him aware, even before the patient, of the situation, and his own personal non-involvement, or emotional detachment, which should be his attitude at least, gives him an advantage which, when used for the patient's welfare, is of the highest value but, if used for the advantage of the analyst, as a power mechanism or for a personal gratification, can be of serious consequence for the patient. This is the paramount reason for the rule that no physician should undertake the work of analysis for others before he has subjected himself to a thorough analysis. In this way the analyst is presumed to have learned how to manage his own libido so that he will not himself fall into the same *cul de sac* from which he is attempting to rescue his patient. Unfortunately, he does not always achieve this desirable goal.

The unique quality of the analytic relation and that which separates it from all other human relations is this; that, although in its beginning of the same character on the part of the patient as that bestowed on physicians in general, it is fostered and developed through the very intimate personal interest which psychoanalysis creates. At the same time the transference of the physician to the patient, which to a certain

degree calls upon the parental feelings, must of necessity be of a non-personal character so that there is no involvement of any personal desires on the part of the analyst that can determine the direction of the patient. In this way the transference is used solely and entirely for the patient's benefit. When an individual shares with another his most intimate personal secrets, his thoughts, and even those deeper aspects of his personality of which he is not himself conscious, a relation is created of greater intimacy than is approached by any other, and produces a kind of identification of the patient's own personality with that of the analyst.

It is this situation through which is reproduced a relation on the affective side similar to that first experience of the little child in relation to the parents. This relation, when properly understood and handled by the analyst, provides the possibility of that emotional development and freedom of the individual with which the future of humanity is involved.

The actual personality of the analyst largely disappears and is replaced by the ideal personality created by the patient and corresponding to his own deepest needs. All the characteristics most admired or wished for are projected upon the person of the analyst regardless of whether they conform to reality or not. On the other hand, instead of this beloved imago, disagreeable attributes, sentiments, and emotional reactions belonging to the patient or to his imago of the parents may be projected. This attitude is called a negative transference. However, unless this attitude can be changed into a positive form the analysis will come to an end before it is begun. In this way the analyst becomes a symbol for the patient.

Now, of course, we know that this positive transference is the same process which takes place so universally during the full flush of a love relation and which Freud refers to as the overvaluation of the love object. Ordinary examples of this are women who endow the most commonplace men with the attributes of a deity, or men who see in some ordinary little girl all angelic virtues. Truly love is blind to actual reality and the

external object is loved only as it conforms to the psychological need of the individual.

In the intensive study which I have devoted to the effort of understanding the irrational (and often incomprehensible to themselves) reactions, feelings, and behavior of people, both men and women, it has been revealed as an incontrovertible fact that the larger portion of humanity does not deal with the real situation or real object as it is, but with the symbol, self-created, which carries the need of the individual himself according to his own stage of development. Only for the purely objective type, whose development as a personality is limited to the function of sensation, with or without the thought function, can the world and his human relations be met on a concrete basis merely as simple objects which give him pleasure or pain and with the satisfaction of his organic desires constituting his whole need. For the majority of persons, much more is necessary if they are to win any satisfactory life or happiness.

In that capacity of the human being for *symbolic representation,* so disastrous for an ordinary reality relationship that must meet the test of every-day life, *lies the very potentiality for the development of the emotional life of man.* For man's weakness lies in the emotional realm which in spite of his intellectual development, has largely remained in its original state affected only by inner repressions or the control of external forces.

Through the creation of the symbol and the projection of it on to a human being who in turn recognizes his true value and meaning for the patient, an actual situation is produced in which all the emotional processes are brought into an objectivity impossible in any other human relation, in which the object of the love is equally involved, and subject to the same mechanisms and processes of identification and projection.

Freud has described how the patient becomes more interested in the life and person of the analyst than in his own treatment, and also alludes to the phenomenon of the almost miraculous improvement in the symptoms and general condi-

tion, which frequently occurs as the first fruit of the analysis when an early transference is established. The important element in this situation lies in the fact that this is a normal reproduction of the earliest psychic experience either real, or the ideal desired. The earliest awakening interest of the child is concerned with the external world; in the first instance with the parents as the original objects with which the child is identified, *not with himself*. Consciousness of self comes second.

There is revealed very clearly in this situation the basic nature of love which causes the individual to lose himself in the interests and being of the beloved, in contradistinction to the basic nature of the ego interest which would dominate all others to its own supremacy. There is also shown, in the general improvement and well-being that takes place and which is a regular accompaniment of the surrender to love, the creative power of this emotion and the enhancement of the entire being in both its physical and psychical aspects.

Thus it becomes evident that inasmuch as a condition of active loving is created within the individual regardless of the object, a new capacity and harmonious functioning of the individual are produced. It is the *binding to the object* calling it forth that produces the difficulty.

However, just as the normal conflict arises in the child between himself and his parents as the ego interests and individual needs of the developing being become more and more urgent, so the conflict and struggle, the resistance, arises in the patient between himself and the analyst. As to when this resistance arises, or on what it is objectively based no statement can be made, for this is largely determined by the psychological type, the individual experiences, and the actual psychic development of the person.

But the fact of universal validity is that in this emotional experience produced by the analytic technic the individual gains the opportunity of *living again on another plane,* the same subjective experience which, as a child, he once passed through unconsciously and without possibility of any objective

grasp of the situation or intelligent understanding and utilization of the experience.

Jung makes a statement that a large number of persons never live their own lives at all but all unconsciously spend their entire existence under the parental constellation, thus living out the unfulfilled lives of the parents instead of their own. This conception casts an illuminating light upon the meaning of frustrated lives that come under observation quite apart from the development of any neurosis. Some of these persons have never emerged from the state of primary identity or the secondary state of identification with the parents, and throughout life remain subjectively in the closest relation with them, although objectively they may appear quite opposite, or apart, and indifferent. Others have reached the stage of irritation, of conflict and struggle, but are none the less still held in the toils of the original libido attachment from which they struggle in vain to free themselves. This achievement is frequently won only late in life or not until much objective experience and effort in the external world has gradually strengthened the individual ego components, and brought the libido from its primary fixations into its proper relation with the individual capacities. Only then is the individual able to do his best and bring his unique contribution to any fruition. By far the larger number of persons, however, never come to such attainment, and, therefore, any real psychic development in the more complete sense is a rare achievement.

The particular attitude which the patient brings to the analyst in the analytic relation depends very largely on his reaction to his early experience. The widely varying environmental conditions as they are revealed in analysis force one to the realization that the objective situation is of much less importance for the psychological development of the individual than was formerly considered. One is unable to attach to the environmental factors the value of supreme agents in determining the psychic reactions, when we see every possible human attitude and relation blamed or used by different persons as

the determining element for the inadequacy or faulty psychic condition presented.

For instance, I can introduce here the histories of two persons belonging to the same psychological type, one a man and one a woman. They both present the same general psychological characteristics and development. The most marked and outstanding phenomenon is their psychological repudiation of their own sex. The man has openly and consciously identified himself with women, has worn woman's garments and felt that only woman possessed real value and significance in the world —all evil and inferiority belonged to man.[1] The woman, on the contrary, could see nothing of value in her own sex, although this attitude was hardly conscious and did not appear as a thought perception until the unconscious motivations and attitudes were brought into view. Then it became very apparent that, although there was no real love or admiration for the father in her case, as there was love and admiration for the mother in the case of the man, nevertheless she was quite identified with the masculine principle and in the unconscious could not even conceive of woman as the bearer of the child, but invariably presented this as belonging to the male. They both adapted entirely through the thought function, the woman more capably and successfully as regards her professional work than the man, but less ably than he in her personal relations. The man had married and was able to maintain a fairly successful domestic life; the woman was unmarried and was certainly incapable of managing a marriage relationship. In general human relationships in the world they were both almost equally incapable and unadapted. For both, the difficulty lay within the realm of the emotions and the function of feeling; the woman was less developed and more chaotic in the feeling function than the man, but more developed and organized in the intellectual sphere than he—that is, the thought function was more separated and differentiated from the feeling function than it was in the man. There was no special homosexual

[1] See Chap. V, p. 228, for detailed discussion.

tendency manifested in her conduct and, when a sexual experience was entered upon, it was with a man. Reference to the history of the man shows that he had had a definite homosexual experience in addition to many heterosexual adventures but, after some analysis, he was able to enter into a marriage relation and to find it entirely satisfying.

In each case the sex repudiated was determined by the contempt and repudiation of the parent of the same sex: in the woman's case the mother was considered as impossible, unworthy, and deserving only scorn; in the man's case the father was regarded in the same way, and this attitude of the son was shown in the dissipated, immoral life led by him in contradistinction to the moral, temperate, and religious life of the father. In the woman's case, although not admiring her father and having no personal or friendly relations with him, he was considered superior to the mother, and her primary identification was made with him. The contempt for the mother was based on her hysteric and inadequate emotional attitude, which was unequal to the sarcastic tongue and refined cruelties of the father's moods (so that the family atmosphere was shadowed by the mother's withdrawing to her room for several days after some disagreeable critical attitude of the father towards her). Open quarrels rarely took place before the children, but this daughter felt only contempt for her mother's method of managing the domestic situation, and had no love for either parent, or for the home memories.

The man had no such environmental experiences. His parents were most harmonious in their personal relations and no unpleasant domestic scenes marred his childish memories. Nevertheless, because his mother appeared to him the more active, energetic parent, and the father quiet and reserved, the latter came in for his contempt and disregard as a youth, the primary identification being made with the mother, as with the woman it was made with the father. Both these cases are living entirely under the shadow of the parents, neither of them having won an independent individual psychic existence, but

each in violent revolt against the psychic bondage. The feeling and emotional aspect of the woman's organism is of the same disordered, chaotic, and uncontrolled character as the mother's was and worse; for the daughter has never lived it in actual experience at all, the entire feeling function being repressed as much as possible but ready at any relaxation of vigilance to break through emotionally into consciousness with some violence, and unfortunate consequences to her personal contacts.

These two cases are representative of a great many persons who can only be understood from the standpoint of their individual psychic reactions, the chief differences, from the standpoint of their relation to the outer world, lying in the degree of inadequacy and mal-adaptation presented. From a large and very careful study of both neurotic and normal individuals it became increasingly evident to me that the actual external factors play a much less important part in the production of the conditions than we are apt to think. Practically all these people themselves lay great stress on the family situation, are critical of the parents, one or both, or attribute to the place in the family the causative factor for the difficulties experienced in childhood and youth. But, when one considers the difficulty due to being the oldest child and another considers being the youngest is the unfortunate situation, while a third attributes it to the middle position, and a fourth to being an only child, there can be little general significance in these factors. Correspondingly the relation to the parents, or the character of the parents, is made the important factor; for one the father is too stern and dominating, for another too yielding and gentle, or the mother is weak or too affectionate, or is too capable or is not sufficiently responsive, and so the stories run, until it soon becomes evident that the particular attitude of the parent plays a lesser part in the development of the neurotic status than one is at first inclined to consider.

This does not mean that the effect of the parents upon the child is not overwhelming and immeasurable, for this influence is certainly unquestionable. But it is so just because they are

parents and not because of any particular attitude or condition.

The parents carry the symbol of reality, of the outer world, and the difficulty with them represents the infantile struggle with the world and the struggle of the developing personality which must win its freedom from the primary identity with them. Depending upon the psychological type of the human being will his particular reactions to the parents partake of one character or another.

Where the child has been denied the parental love he craved, the parents exhibiting indifference or sternness, or a cold external attitude, the person feels he has been cheated out of the warmth and emotional tenderness which he has craved, and longs and seeks for this the rest of his life; on the other hand, the child who has been showered with love and tenderness feels that he has been too much enwrapped and bound by this emotional bond from which he futilely attempts to escape in one form or other. On the whole we could perhaps say that the absence of love and tenderness in childhood works the greater hardship, for this seems the natural right of the human child and the pathetic longings of children in foundling homes for the mother, and the phantasies created by them, reveal the elementary character of this desire. It is at least certain that the bonds of love binding the child to his infancy, which need to be properly broken by him in order that he may develop a mature psychic organization, entail a positive action on his part, and face the child towards the future even though he may never succeed in freeing himself adequately for his own life. The lack of a satisfying love from the parents in early childhood, however, produces a sense of loss, of an endless need which must somehow be won; it faces the child backward, so to speak, in a never-relinquished desire for the unattainable.

It is this infantile bond which provides the normal field of conflict in the struggle towards maturity, but it must first be possessed in order to be overcome. It is this that is missed, and which creates the initial difficulty in persons who have never experienced the familial love relation. However, it is

impossible to formulate a principle in these matters, for no sooner does this seem valid than one is confronted by just the opposite situation.

With the coming up of the resistance which is manifested under as many forms as there are individual variations, there is also reproduced the original psychic situation in which the young individual began his first efforts to separate himself from his parents. But now in the analytic relation the problem is made objective and conscious. It is met with understanding and sympathy on the part of the analyst, because being himself unidentified with the patient, he can deal with it quite otherwise than could the actual parents whose personality is usually involved to the greatest extent with their children.

In every natural love relation there is an ego involvement and, therefore, there is always present the desire to possess the love object, to dominate it, or to be possessed by it, depending on the particular psychology of the individual; in the bisexual types, both aspects may appear alternately. In the last analysis, the true meaning of this possessive tendency is actually the desire to *possess the love impulse itself*, that is, to bring it under the direction and control of the human will, but this need is projected on to the object to which the love is attached, and in the possession and domination of the object the symbol of possession of the love impulse is created.

On the other hand, to be possessed by the love object to which the one loving submits signifies the surrender of the individual principle to the all-absorbing life of impulse in which nature works her will. This latter attitude has been the one most generally associated with woman, because for her it has meant natural fruitfulness, while for man it has been sterility. Nevertheless, with the greater recognition of the bisexual character of humanity, the simple division on definite sex lines cannot be maintained in practical life with any justice for the individual. Either attitude creates a claim upon the object and nowhere is this more clearly to be seen than during

the analysis. It is rare, however, and is certainly not for the best interests of the individual, that only the passive attitude of desiring to surrender completely to the love object exists. In every developing life the opposite attitude producing struggle and resistance will arise. The most intense and complete examples of this desire for surrender that I have observed have not been among passive, incapable, or neurotic beings by any means, but among those who have too early experienced the revolt, the attempt at possession or turning away from the original experience with the parent, and therefore have not really won any psychic freedom.

One of the most extreme cases in my experience concerned that of a young woman who in her infancy was characterized by a most complete antipathy and rejection of any parental tenderness. She was an eldest child and her mother was at a loss to understand the lack of response, and actual turning away of her first-born from any affectionate demonstrations which she attempted to shower upon her. The young woman herself has no recollection of the slightest feeling of love or affection for either of her parents. Her father, a quiet, undemonstrative man, was tolerated as a person of no especial importance but the mother was felt as antagonistic and treated with positive hate and rebellion.

Although an entirely feminine appearing person, this girl developed all the tendencies and aggressive qualities we associate with masculine psychology, fighting her brother's battles, capably dealing with the world in an impersonal spirit, and along intellectual and logical lines far more developed than the average man. This was the history of the young woman who had never experienced the slightest personal love attraction towards either a man or woman but who, in the analytic transference, fell immediately into the depths of the normal, original infantile relation to the mother. This condition was intensified greatly because of its having never been experienced until long past adulthood and because this earlier stage is one from which the majority of individuals have moved some little distance at

least. The nature of this love is best shown by quoting from her own description of her feelings.

> It is as though in you I had reached the end of desire, and only because I can't have you is it tragedy instead of perfect happiness. And having you consists in the impossible—just to lie forever with my face against your breast and your arms around me, or to crawl inside of you and remain there—that is my picture of perfect happiness. I wouldn't ask for anything else in the world.

I could present many examples of others who passed briefly through a similar experience and it is situations like these which contribute to the recognition of the fact, revealed by analysis over and over again, that no one who has entered upon a path of psychic development can escape any experience which belongs to the totality of normal life. In carefully following and studying an extreme case of this kind in its gradual development, one can observe clearly in the emotional transformations which occur all the necessary stages passed through in the course of a normal life.

The condition which Freud calls adhesiveness of the libido in which it clings to an early object so tenaciously and, in spite of conscious will and effort, refuses to relinquish the object which once has held it, can be observed over and over again.

The significance of this characteristic appears to be determined by the factors of individual development and of psychological type. The patient is forced to struggle with this fixation which holds him fast and he must produce a real psychic transformation and development, not a repression, before he can win any true freedom in the disposition of his libido. Therefore these symbols of the original models are used over and over again unless indeed a repression cuts off the connection; then a part of the vital libido is cut off with it, and growth and development at that point cease.

When, however, the individual comes to the recognition that in the unconscious it is his own fulfilment that he is seeking,

and that the fixation upon an impossible or undesirable object, which he refuses to release, actually means that the attainment of this object is used to symbolize the winning of power through love, the beginning of the release has begun. The desire is to dominate the symbol—to free oneself from its overwhelming power. The proof of this latter statement can be found by a study of the results in these cases, when the desired object is actually attained. The immediate effect is the release of the tension to be sure, and a consequent satisfaction and exultation; but when the necessity for dealing with the reality condition arises, inevitably the reaction follows and the value of the object lessens. Then, unless a real inner work is accomplished, the symbol is simply transferred to another object and the libido is as much in bondage as before. Thus we see persons continually disappointed, and changing from one object to another after possession, because they fail to differentiate between the two realities, the symbolic and the actual. The adaptation is made not to reality itself, but to the symbol projected on to the object. All these reactions and attitudes acting as limitations and bondages to the individual come to light in analysis, and for them the analytic technic affords the means of relief.

There are numerous persons for whom the transference means a return to early childhood or infancy and in the feelings no less than in the dreams and phantasies there appears again and again the wish to be a little child. The desire is to withdraw from the struggle of life, to rest again in the arms of the mother and by no effort can one interpret these wishes as the desire for incest with the mother or a wish to kill the father. The explanation of the condition lies in the fact that the love has never developed into a mature form; it has remained at the infantile stage. In those in whom the Œdipus problem is present, another phase has developed, the phase of infantile power. They desire to escape from the child's relation and to enter a mature phase—to take the father's place, the place of power and authority, the symbol of which in the

affective realm is to be husband to the mother. This situation corresponds for the girl to biological maturity, and this for her means *to have a child,* hence the desire of a child from the father, which Freud emphasizes. In the analysis, these different phases recur with an endless repetition, and involve both sexes indiscriminately.

It is obvious that the symbol of the mother as the source of life holds values for humanity as tremendous as the physical reality in her birth-giving capacity. No one who has studied these analytic experiences free from preconceptions can doubt, for a moment, the validity of Jung's idea that the primary desire found in many persons, to reënter the mother's womb, to regain the warmth and love of maternal care, is for the purpose of a rebirth. This is the inner side of the Œdipus problem as the desire for power and domination is the outer side.

Psychoanalysis provides the opportunity for a deep look into the elemental tendencies in man and even among those persons who seem furthest away from any symbolic thinking, those who are most closely attached to concrete things or to ideas which have become as concrete as things, we come sooner or later upon the same process, which they then discover for the first time and recognize as part of their own psychology.

The greatest differences exist, however, in the manner, in the length of time, in the ease or difficulty with which the individual makes the transference to the analyst. This is determined by many factors, first and foremost, perhaps, the urgency of the need and the inner capacity for transference. This capacity depends upon the degree to which the ego, through the intellect or otherwise, has swallowed up the love or upon the psychic condition in which the functions of feeling and intuition are not yet possessed by the individual—a state which can be likened, psychologically, to that of the unborn child, not yet conscious of itself.

Besides these factors, the personality of the analyst plays a certain part—how nearly he or she conforms to the symbol held

by the particular individual, the confidence inspired and the real individual quality of the analyst, which is often sensed with an amazing accuracy by the subjective types.

Another condition playing a great part in the transference is the degree to which the individual is already involved in an emotional relationship. While this does not prevent a transference from taking place, it certainly lessens its extent and intensity. The libido is already occupied with a living object on whom the symbol is projected, and therefore there is a division of intensity. However, with the multiplicity of symbols which the different types have at their disposal, and the differences in sex, the affective situation is not prevented; it is only delayed or rendered less difficult for the analyst. It also allows the symbolic character of the relation to be more easily recognized by the patient. This is of distinct advantage in the analytic work and facilitates its progress, for the greatest difficulty is ordinarily experienced by consciousness in recognizing that the wish or desire projected upon a definite object has a significance of value other than that of immediate tangible reality. Many psychoanalysts, in their insistence that infantile wishes are actual desires of to-day, fail to recognize this, although the greater part of their work applies to psychological reality instead of to actual reality. Psychological reality knows no other terms than those provided by physical reality, but this does not warrant the exchange of one for the other, nor does it warrant the return to the state of wholly animal psychology, any more than its banishment and the assumption of that transcendental state from which mankind has suffered in the recent past.

As a matter of fact analysis shows us unmistakably the dualism under which as human beings we all live. Always in the actual experiences of life we pass from one aspect to the other, from the tangible to the intangible and ideal, but none the less real, desires imprinted upon the soul as a result of which the entire individual is affected. When one aspect only of an experience is recognized then its full value is missed and, as

this appreciation of values depends upon the psychological functions at the disposal of the individual, the same situation possesses a very different significance for different persons.

The analytic work most amply illustrates this fact. Freud refers to this distinction when he speaks of discovering that there is a "knowing and knowing." It is this problem which invalidates the simple statement so frequently heard, that when the symptoms or phantasies and dreams of the neurotics are unraveled and explained the symptoms disappear. So rarely does anything of this kind occur that one is suspicious of the phenomenon, for, surely, with the easy surrender of this hysterical symptom, the conflict will appear under another form.

No solution of value can take place before a real change in psychic processes and attitude has occurred. It is this change in the psychology produced, the increased and deepened consciousness, and the development of immature psychic functions, that affords the contrast between psychoanalysis and all other forms of psychic treatment. It is this educative process, too, which accounts for the long time required for any thorough analysis to be achieved, and also accounts for the very different results of the work experienced by different persons. Possessing no theory which individuals must accept, it conforms to each person according to his requirements and needs, and both the results and the time occupied in their achievement are dependent largely upon the individual capacities and insight.

Sometimes it takes weeks or even months to overcome some definite resistance which has arisen. This often appears in the dream or phantasy before any inkling of the difficulty has arisen into consciousness. Then frequently one must wait until the situation becomes clear enough to be unmistakable to the *analysant,* else it can be denied or the analyst can be accused of suggesting or forcing an interpretation. And in this respect the greatest care must be exercised so that the force of authority is not used, for the analyst, through the position he occupies towards the patient, already possesses authority enough,

and this must be reduced to the minimum by the analyst himself.

The same quality of intuitive insight, born of experience and knowledge, is needed to know when to reveal and when to withhold, and how to manage the psychic material generally, as is required by a surgeon to judge of the proper moment to operate, or the effect of a given drug at a certain time. The analytic patient, however, in contradistinction to the surgical case, has a means of checking up his physician; mistakes in the technic are quickly reacted to and often produced in the dreams as criticism of the analyst—an interpretation of weakness if the psychological moment for presenting a needed bit of the analysis is allowed to pass, or a bold intimation of ignorance if an error is allowed to escape. In this way there is a continuous movement back and forth from the patient to the analyst as one attitude and situation after another is brought up to consciousness to be met, understood, and assimilated.

In a previous chapter reference was made to the unconscious under two aspects: the personal unconscious, and the collective unconscious. In all persons in whom the analysis is carried far enough, we come into contact with both aspects, but here again the greatest differences are found among individuals.

It is a rule which should not be overlooked, that in all people the personal unconscious should be analyzed and held to a personal interpretation. For, among certain people, there is a definite tendency to avoid this by raising the personal problem to the impersonal and mythological so that the small is lost in the great and the purely individual difficulty and disagreeable psychic reaction and tendency are concealed within the universal and mythological.

In other words, that creative, transforming impulse which is continuously operative in humanity, is more active and of a higher order in these persons; the unconscious processes predominate, and the myth-creating mechanisms seize upon the individual problem, or the individual problem raises itself to

expression in terms of the myth, the universal and collective product linking all human life in a common bond.

This is a difficult matter to make quite clear, but an illustration of my meaning will be found through a study of the dream related in the chapter on *The Unconscious*.[1] It must be remembered that this dreamer was a most normal, active, business man, and without any personal psychological problems or conflicts in his life, as far as he was aware—successful in business and successful in love. He was one of that large number of persons who declare they never dream. Therefore this dream, given the circumstances under which it was produced, possesses a particular interest—that of the dream process of a normal man caught red-handed, as it were, from the depths of the unconscious. Here may be glimpsed the forms which the impersonal unconscious activity creates to embody the collective aspect of the impulse when it is not individualized and made personal, that is, before it becomes *my particular problem*.

Furthermore, this dream, no less than other more personal dreams of individuals who are in conflict or neurotic, possesses the almost universal characteristic of the first dream produced in the beginning of analysis; *i.e.*, it embodies and gives expression to the total psychic condition of the individual. With no other data, a complete survey of the tendencies and general life problems of the dreamer may be gained.

The objective factors associated with this dream are as follows: The dreamer has seen the man with whom he is walking in the dream, only once while occupying the prominent position in a public gathering, but has never met him or spoken to him. Asked for some personal reaction to the man, he says, "I think he is the ugliest man I ever saw, and the most amusing." Continuing, the dreamer at last says, "I don't know why, but my father comes to my mind." Then we enter into the story of the relation of the son to the father. As a matter of fact, there is no actual relation, for the father died when

[1] See Chap. III, p. 121.

the son was a very small boy so that only the dimmest memory of him remains. Much more is it a phantasy picture based on the mother's tender memories of the father. At all events the actuality appears quite different from the picture of the man in the dream with whom the father is associated. Still we know there must be some reason why he uses this particular man, a stranger to whom he is quite indifferent and who is a distinctly public character, distinguished by his ugly features and his humorous quality. A little further urging elicits a grudging admission that he doesn't believe he would have cared for his father very much had he lived, for from what he could glean from his mother, the father instead of being a forceful, aggressive personality, such as this man admired and actually was himself, was a rather sensitive, artistic type. He never had any conflict with the father, nor with the elder brother who was of somewhat the same type as the father; and probably would not have had had the father lived. Therefore he represents his own impersonal, detached, and slightly contemptuous or condescending attitude towards his father by the figure of this quite different man, who has asked the dreamer to go with him and his little daughter to see his home.

The child brings no familiar reminiscence. She is as strange as the man. Discussion brought out the fact that he had never had a sister, but had wished for one. His marriage likewise had failed to bring him the wished-for little girl. In the dream the little girl played a very important rôle. She leads him to the discovery of the strange beast. From the nature of the case we are justified in assuming that her figure is actually the personification of the amount of libido bound up with the feminine component of his personality. He is distinctly a masculine type, the kind of man for whom the artless charm of a little girl would have a great appeal. She is something quite distinct and separate from himself. She belongs to the father —who is dead; really to the libido attached to the father and personified in the dream. But this is impersonal and in the unconscious. Jung calls this figure the *anima,* this term repre-

senting the soul, or a definite excerpt of the collective unconscious.

According to my conception she personifies, under the symbol of the daughter,[1] the feminine element belonging to the individual which is wholly in the unconscious. She is the infantile personality in its most attractive form and is the typical figure for so strongly masculine an individual. On arriving at the house the father figure disappears and the dreamer is left with the little girl. In other words he replaces the father. In typical story-book fashion she is attacked by some animal and he plays the part of brave knight defending her. Now the attack by an animal is one of the most common presentations in dream and phantasy and is one of those universal symbols which psychoanalysis reveals. It is a most frequent form under which young girls and women express the fear of libido sexualis and it says, "What I feared yet desired has come." But this man in his own mature character has no such actual fear. He protects the child and defends her. Here we see just the reverse of the feminine story of the maiden who is pursued or is endangered by some bad man or wild animal and who is rescued by a brave youth. It is the same motive but reversed as is natural for this man. The special interest here lies in the dreamer's functioning in the dual rôle.

In gratitude, the little girl presents him with flowers which she wishes him to plant in the garden. Flowers are a universal love offering and are generally recognized as such, but the planting of them immediately suggests to him the idea of growth, of fertility. If put in the earth they will live and increase. Thus the little girl leads him to his great discovery which is itself buried in the earth.

Perhaps no better example could be given to illustrate the strange and bizarre relations that dream work produces in finding expression for the underlying purpose, in reflecting or picturing the psychological situation. Here the irrational rules, and therefore the impossibility of finding a living creature

[1] See diagram. Chap. V, p. 216.

buried in the earth is no obstacle to the creation of the story. The association of Eros, the extraordinary beast, with the earth is very significant. Through this effort of digging the monster beast comes to light. As we know the earth is mother symbolism—the collective and impersonal feminine principle; out of her comes this strange beast composed of such a variety of libido symbols. This is Eros in his physical, animal form; powerful, impersonal, wholly collective, born from the mother earth; he represents just that power of which man has been afraid and with which he has been struggling through the ages. The immediate association which this animal brought to the dreamer was the phallus. The extraordinary character and tremendous size of this beast represents the greatness of the fear and impresses upon him its tremendous power, superhuman power, in this case superanimal power.

The significance of his anxiety to protect himself in his mother's apartment from the intrusion of the beast is obvious. By remaining in an infantile relation to the personal mother he can escape the danger from the overwhelming sexual domination. By Freudian analysts this would be called the operation of the incest barrier but there is something more here. The dreamer not only protects the mother, who is not present in the dream, but he protects himself through taking refuge in the mother's house—he returns to the presexual period.

However, it is a room above that the beast enters. Here a man and wife reside (allusion to his former marriage now dissolved) and the marked accent in this scene is on the fact that the woman is not afraid but the husband hides in the bed. Here we are confronted with the great psychological contrast between man and woman expressed in symbolism, and quite outside the dreamer's conscious knowledge. The woman is *not afraid* of this great nature power because through it she fulfills her instinctual life, the collective purpose of her being—only through Eros has she really functioned. But for man it is a torment, something holding him to earth when he would like to soar freely—it betrays his noblest purpose and chains

his ego to the craving for physical gratification. Now this, of course, was in no way conscious to the dreamer, but it revealed his personal psychology in collective terms and brought to light the archaic character of the functioning in the depths of the unconscious of ordinary normal man. As a matter of fact the dreamer had found an object for his love and through this beloved all the depths of his nature were being stirred so that, although there was nothing but happiness and satisfaction apparent in his actual life, through this experience he came to the universal problem of man, brought into view within the confines of the dream.

This superficial analysis of this material illustrates very well how one dream can bring to the fore the entire life story, and exhibits the distinction between the collective and universal and the individual and personal problem of man. Both aspects are to be found in every human being, but to meet the needs of the individual the material must be held to its personal significance and utilized accordingly.

The important matter for each person is not that I too, as part of humanity, possess the universal human problems, but: In what way are they affecting me? How am I reacting to them? In what form are they expressed in my life and in how far have I progressed towards an individual solution?

These questions concern each one individually. Upon his conscious recognition and understanding of the inner determinants towards action and thought depend the possibilities of his future efficiency and happiness.

But it is just these questions which the individual himself is most powerless to answer, for the answer lies in the realm of the unconscious, and it is this fact which makes it impossible for him to gain unaided the knowledge most needful for his further development. It is here that the technic of analysis offers the opportunity for the necessary insight and comprehension. The work of analysis is guided by the particular needs and requirements of the individual, and according to the material he provides the work proceeds. Therefore, in any

discussion of the practical working process, there can only be given a general idea which varies in its application with each person.

For instance, even in the neuroses I have found that an anxiety neurosis, or a hysteric symptom complex may possess a significance in one type of person quite different from that of another, and that the interpretations of the symptoms and the indications for treatment depend largely on the type of personality presenting the symptoms. In other words, the different types of personality require a different approach and a different emphasis, although the objective symptoms or difficulty may appear similar.

Bearing in mind these statements regarding individual treatment and reactions we can now approach the study of one of the most difficult aspects of analytical therapy. It must be realized that the most sensitive and painful effects upon people are produced by any suggestion that they are not altogether capable or sufficient to themselves. Any references to weaknesses, faults of character or personal idiosyncrasies are reacted to by the ego in immediate defense of itself, as though it considered itself above reproach. This is the general attitude maintained by the majority of persons even though they may be quite aware within themselves that they are far from actually achieving the ideal or successful personality they like to appear to be.

This condition is so well recognized that, even among the most intimate associates, it is rare that one person dares, if he values the friendship, to intimate that a personal weakness or disagreeable characteristic detracts from his friend. It is only under certain stress and particular circumstances that friends are allowed to know of the intimate private lives and thoughts of one another. This is due of course to the restrictive power of the cultural standards which strives, by means of outside pressure, to make people good according to the prevalent ideas of society, without regard for the individual. The painful feelings which arise when the ego is confronted with disapproval,

particularly if it has achieved little independence for itself, render it cowardly and fearful before exposure of the weaknesses of the personality or criticism of its faults.

For these people analysis is often a most painful undertaking and it is among the more objective types in whom the least self-consciousness exists that the revelations and interpretations brought about by the analytic technic produce the greatest difficulties. Even though they are accepted intellectually, they are met by a wall of resistance, that same resistance discussed in a previous chapter.[1] By means of this barrier the individual is protected in the largest degree from the disintegrating effect upon his personality, or disturbance of it caused by the eruption of the collective unconscious. Every inch of the way is fought either actively or passively, for often the very functions through which insight is gained are lacking.

It is only when definite symptoms have arisen or some mental disquietude has occurred sufficient to produce a recognition of inadequacy or a lack in proper achievement that the courage is gained to resort to such a disrupting method of treatment as analysis. This type of patient who has always been capable and considered himself perfectly normal is most bewildered to find that he cannot rise up from the particular disturbing situation which has affected him, or to discover that he has acquired a set of symptoms, which may even act like those of some ordinary physical disease, except that they do not yield to ordinary medical therapy. Besides, there is often added to the condition itself an irritation and kind of indignation at the situation in which he finds himself. If such a person cannot find the right attitude towards himself he is in danger of becoming a hypochondriac.

As a matter of fact his actual psychic condition is unchanged —the only thing that has happened is that the inadequate psychic organization or the lacks in the personality have at last manifested themselves to him.

Being wholly engrossed with the external world and its claims

[1] *The Unconscious,* Chap. III, p. 97.

he never had any real acquaintance with himself and therefore did not perceive that anything was amiss with his soul. To pay any attention to such things is weak or morbid or self-indulgent according to the general attitude. Not until the sword has descended is it necessary to consider the situation or recognize human psychological needs. Then it is discovered that there were plenty of warnings that all was not well.

In such cases the symptoms are to be considered as an effort of nature towards repair—a compromise formation Freud calls them—just as fever is now considered an evidence of a beneficent reaction of the organism against disease germs. Therefore, although to the patient the symptoms seem the all-important problem which is preventing his happiness or progress in life, to the analyst they are the least important and serve merely as a landmark or guide to the particular inner difficulties and disharmony of the individual. The real work of the analyst lies in bringing to light the psychological trends and elements of discord, and in finding the points of fixation which have inhibited the progressive development of the patient and which nullify his strongest efforts. The symptom is a crude product of the creative activity, expressing in this form the functions or necessary capacities which he lacks. Therefore a reduction to the original elements of the personality before symptom formation occurred is indicated and this is what takes place gradually during the analysis of the personal unconscious. The living over again of the painful episodes in the life, including all the associations they bring up, in which feelings and reactions are expressed which perhaps were never fully conscious to the individual before, constitutes a tremendous work. For every one carries sore spots, painful feelings associated sometimes with well-remembered situations, although perhaps for years forgotten.

So the formation of the psychic organization is traced back, step by step, following no order but the one rule, to speak of whatever happens to come into the mind at the time. It is amazing to the uninitiated how painful episodes, occurring

years before, even in childhood, which seemed to have been long forgotten and to have passed out of the psychic life, come trooping back bringing with them fresh feeling as though they belonged to yesterday—even tears to the strong man or shame to the mature woman.

In this way the work of reduction proceeds until there stand out clearly before the mind of the patient his original tendencies and the components of his personality.

This reduction to the primitive or to the infantile roots of his personality is not, however, for the purpose of lowering the man or of destroying the culture he has so painfully acquired. It is for the purpose of enabling him to accept the whole of himself; to deal consciously and therefore more adequately with those elements of his personality which have been repressed and therefore undeveloped; and with the aid of his deepened consciousness to create a new synthesis on a higher level. On the way towards this he finds what are actually his possibilities, his life's direction, regardless of outside influence except as this is necessary in the service of reality. Goethe, whose own life offers one of the greatest examples of human psychological development, came to the idea from his own experience that "even the least man, if his nature is harmonious, can be happy and can in his own way be perfect."

That these repressions are concerned with a multitude of situations, of feelings, and even actual episodes which come tumbling out upon a touch even when unintended, is the daily experience of psychoanalysts. The egotistic tendencies as well as the sexual—and indeed between these there is a constant warfare—come into opposition with what we call our higher ethical aims, and the pain of recognizing qualities within ourselves which are the direct antitheses of these cultural and ethical ideals can produce a very great repression; so that, in regard to ourselves, we often display a very marked blind spot. There comes to my mind a dramatic scene which illustrates this condition so well that I shall relate it.

A gentleman from another city, on the advice of his physi-

cian, brought his wife to my office, knowing nothing of psychoanalysis or of the methods I might use in treating her. She had been ill for several years—in fact, almost since they were married eight years previously. The first thing noticeable was the marked discrepancy in their ages. She was about twenty-seven years old, and he a fine, intelligent, distinguished appearing man of fifty years.

He showed a marked nervousness and distress over his wife's condition and was very anxious as to what was going to be done with her. I asked him to come to see me the following day alone, when I would tell him my opinion of her condition and my method of treating her. On this second visit, I found him more composed and calm. He was quietly giving me his version of his wife's illness and her history. He began to speak about the early time of his marriage, when suddenly he grew ghastly pale, stopped, and held tightly the arms of the chair. With a supreme effort, he got up, walked up and down the room for a few minutes and finally sat down, apologizing for the scene, greatly chagrined.

When he had recovered a little, I said, "Mr. A., will you tell me what thought came into your mind at that point in the story of your marriage?" He looked at me a moment, and then burst out, "I did a damnable thing when I married my wife—a wicked thing, and I know it. She was my ward, she had no experience of life at all, no love affairs or any of the life that belongs to a young girl, while I had lived until over forty. I thought that I could make a success of this. I love her and she loves me, but there's something wrong and I know it."

In the moral revolt over his own wrong conduct, in a higher ethical sense, which produced the overnervousness regarding his wife and which broke out in this attack when the complex of marriage was touched upon, the mechanism of repression, although not unconscious, is clearly revealed as well as the causes of his wife's illness.

However there are numbers of normal people who are very

self-conscious indeed and who, as far as their own awareness of weakness, of inferiority, and of a sense of guilt is concerned, can learn nothing from any one else. They usually belong to the subjective types who are in closest relation with the unconscious and unredeemed elements of human character and who, therefore, contribute such a large number to the neurotic class.

It can in no wise be said that the elemental impulses and tendencies in the psyche are any different, more unmoral, or more deserving of censure than those of the other groups of people; only, with the former groups, repression, or the barrier between the conscious and the unconscious, has developed more successfully and the painful feelings of insecurity and inferiority are normally unrecognized.

With the more subjective types of persons analysis generally affords a most welcome relief. For now in the person of the analyst is found a firm support outside of themselves—really a representative of the world—with whom they can effect some relation. When the problems and painful states can be shared with another who accepts them and does not feel critical, an immense relief is usually experienced. For always these persons are affected in greater or less degree by depressed moods, states in which they withdraw from the relation with objects, to retire into themselves, and which are generally accompanied by a great sense of loss and alienation.

These states are of far more frequent occurrence among people than is generally realized, and are experienced equally among both extravert and introvert types belonging to the subjective groups. They are generally associated with some untoward incident connected with the external world, or with others, but this will be found to be only the precipitating moment and possesses no actual relation to the condition itself. Persons who are subject to these moods will often try desperately to fight them off; they will cling to the world with which they are surrounded and attempt to lose themselves in

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activities, but they rarely find satisfactory relief. These moods vary greatly in their character among different persons, ranging from a brief withdrawn and dull state to a deep alienation in feeling from ordinary life. During this phase all the world is gray and dark, and sad thoughts, phantasies, and irrational feelings flood the mind.

I can again refer to Goethe, who was subject to these melancholic moods as he called them and who, undoubtedly from his own experience, gives a graphic description of the mental state.

He whom I possess most fully,
Finds this world but vain regret.
Endless gloom descends upon him,
Never sun doth rise or set.
Perfect are the outer senses,
Yet in darkness lies his soul.
Of the treasure he possesses,
Never can he take control.
Pain and pleasure are caprices,
Midst abundance—starves away;
Whether joy or sorrow beckon,
Both are pushed off till next day.
For the future always waiting,
Never ready to begin.

. . . . . .

Though he comes or goes, yet never
A decision can he win.
Half-way down the trodden pathway,
Groping—dragging weary knees.
Lost in deepening vacillation,
All things twistedly he sees!
Burdening himself and others,
Smothered, breathing still the air,
Dead he seems, and yet not lifeless,
Not resigned—not in despair!
Such an endless twisting, twirling,
Painful leaving, hateful taking,

Almost freed—then almost choking,
Half asleep—then badly waking.
In his place now lift him there,
Then for Hell, let him prepare!

We call the condition described in these lines a state of introversion. These states of introversion constitute for some people a regularly recurring phenomenon. For, with no more external reason than that which induces the condition, the individual emerges after a longer or shorter time, in an entirely normal state again, sometimes much improved as far as capacity and enjoyment in the world are concerned. With some persons the state appears simply as one of dullness, of heaviness, or indolence perhaps, much more time than usual being passed in a heavy, deep sleep and even when awake an inert and apathetic attitude taking the place of the normal interest. This withdrawal from the objective world into the subjective state is usually considered as a more or less abnormal condition, occurring involuntarily and entirely contrary to the individual's conscious desire. For consciousness is occupied more exclusively with the objective life, and the percepts which are brought in from without are its primary field of activity. Through analysis, however, we have come to look upon these mental states with an entirely different eye, and to recognize in them a significance and meaning of an order different from that of a merely pathological condition which must be overcome as soon as possible. The unhappy, painful, injurious character of the condition, to be sure, must be modified, but a deep understanding of the significance of this movement allows us to realize that something of importance and value for the life of the individual lies in this temporary withdrawal from the world of things.

Inevitably, as the analysis proceeds, there will come the time when the loss of relation to the old self and things in the world becomes marked. For the growing consciousness of repressed painful feelings and of hidden tendencies, the rising of

resistances and the effort to overcome them after recognition of their nature, the gradual emergence of psychic functions not heretofore active, the relinquishment of infantile pretensions and outworn prejudices, and the growing change in ideas and feelings regarding the self, involve a tremendous piece of psychic work. All the old familiar appearances seem to have been exchanged for a new world where one is uncertain and insecure. The sense of gloom and aloneness deepens; and this is the critical moment in the analytic work. There is no rule with which to meet this condition. Its proper handling depends entirely upon the individual, his type, and his needs.

Sometimes the first appearance of this state is of brief duration only, and the individual soon experiences a marked change and returns smiling to the world again. At other times, however, the feeling of darkness and isolation continues and now the positive transference assumes its greatest importance. The analyst becomes the one point of affective contact with the world—he or she carries the rôle of both father and mother, and by the invisible bond between them the patient is held from the complete isolation and loss in his own depths.

Therefore, it is of the greatest consequence that a deep introversion of this sort does not take place before the transference is firmly established, and likewise that this condition is not experienced during any period of negative transference. For the necessary attachment to an object in the world through which the individual may find his way back to life would be thus endangered.

This condition is frequently announced by death wishes, or dark forebodings in the dreams or phantasies before the patient actually becomes aware of the subjective feelings. Later a frequent complaint is: "I feel lost. . . . There is no path. . . . I seem to be entering a dark tunnel. . . . An abyss is at my feet." All these feelings, accompanied by fear, a wish to turn back, a nameless dread, overwhelm the individual so that he is dependent upon the sympathetic understanding and certainty of the analyst for courage to enable him to enter this realm of

shadows. The most delicate insight and careful treatment of this condition are necessary, for it may mean merely an unhappy and dangerous phase, or something of inestimable value to the patient, and to either of these possibilities the physician can contribute a great deal.

According to Freudian psychoanalysts this condition simply means regression to the physical birth phantasies, to incest wishes and to similar processes, but, although the symbols used have the closest analogy to these conceptions, an interpretation which fails to grasp their larger implications is wholly inadequate and sterile for the patient. For in thus voluntarily giving oneself over to this deep introversion, all the shut off or repressed part of the self is necessarily reanimated, those elements unredeemed and unassimilated since childhood are activated and, if one proceeds far enough, the ultimate springs of life are touched. Such depths, however, are usually gained only gradually, for these phases are many times repeated and recovered from, each time the individual bringing back with him a little more of his buried libido—his energy detached from the objects and situations of the past. The condition itself is a rebirth process, and therefore the symbols all deal with death and birth, but it is a psychological death and rebirth process, not a physiological one. The sinking into the depths of one's own being, in which all the external objects of sense attraction are shut off, where that sense of timeless unity, as one person expressed it, exists, certainly approximates in subjective feeling the original state before birth, as we conceive it.

Could any portrayal of that prenatal state be more graphically expressed than this description of her experience written by a patient after she had emerged from this condition.

> It seemed like a long, long black fall through unmeasured darkness. Then, following that, a place where I floated in waters that came from nowhere and went nowhere, that had no bottom and no surface, where all creatures merged into all others, where there was no consciousness of time, no sense of differences, but all a passive flowing out and about; lifted in the

midst of the water, raised and lowered and raised, without effort, with no sense of existence, but only being.

Surely if the unborn infant possessed consciousness he could give no more perfect account of his sojourn.

The value of this regained prebirth experience and the rebirth that follows can be very great indeed; for those unstable, badly organized personalities it affords an opportunity quite without parallel to effect a new integration and a synthesis which are of a much superior order to that which has been achieved by the natural unconscious processes.

The danger of this deep introversion, however, is also great unless properly handled and guided. Any undue or careless interference can deprive the patient of all value from the experience, and may even produce a disastrous effect.

The first result gained is a release from the repressions, inhibitions, and fixations, all mechanisms which line the pathway of even the best integrated personalities, and by means of which the psychic synthesis of all people has been effected. These inadequate mechanisms utilize an enormous amount of energy and, therefore, with even their temporary overcoming, a great deal is released to the individual which can be utilized for a more satisfactory life.

The complete overcoming of these old, wasteful psychic processes is not achieved at once. They are habits which require much patient work to replace with better ones. But the inevitable consequence of all this is a dissolving of the former psychic integration. It is as though the psychic structure, built up during the youth of the individual through the reaction between himself and his environment, gradually fell apart or disintegrated into its component elements.

This is the moment when the collective unconscious becomes the dominant factor and the personal unconscious disappears. The phantasies and feelings now reveal a character which is of a universal nature and the importance of the particular personal characteristics largely vanishes. With those persons who

have only achieved a weak synthesis, the loss of the self in the universal and collective elements may appear very soon. This constitutes an element of danger for these persons. For the feelings of greatness, of power, the creative activity of mind and body which dominate the personality, are a tremendous lure and are apt to produce an identification of the individual consciousness with the collective elements. The significance of this I have discussed in the chapter on the unconscious.

The element of danger in this situation lies in the fact that all the failures and difficulties of life now seem to melt away. The individual is one with life; its greatness fills him, and he believes he now possesses that power for which he has longed. However, the right relation with the analyst holds him to a definite point of reality and guides him to a new and better orientation and unification than he has known before.

Persons of a more stable synthesis are less likely to be carried away by the process. Although this reduction and rebirth, which allow a new attitude and a more individual development of the personality to take place, are an important part of the analytic process for every one who is a growing, developing individual, the depth to which this is carried depends largely on the achievement that has already been made and on the psychological type.

For each one the gain lies along the line of his inferior aspect. For instance, with those persons who are in a sensuous relation with everything—identified with all states of feeling and moods which contact them—a separation of the ego and some individual development in the ego function is the necessary attainment; for those who have become quite separated, who are alien in their feelings and relation to others and to life, and who have functioned on the ego side almost exclusively, there is the need to find a contact and a relation with others.

In the words of a patient of this type, "I feel for the first time in my life a connection, a kind of oneness with others—I am not any more alien, but I am a part of all life and it is part of me."

The phantasies and symbols which flood the mind during this process are often quite astounding and need to be analyzed in the same manner as the dreams. In this way there is incorporated with the conscious knowledge of external phenomena the recognition of the unconscious elements and possibilities in the self, the individual forms of symbolic expression, the gifts and capacities as well as the weaknesses and lacks. Thus an entirely new relation is produced with the self as well as with others, and the individual is enabled to win a true sense of human value—his value.

There is one phenomenon in connection with all this that needs special consideration, the recurrence of all the phases and experiences lived through in the analysis, not once but many times. Dreams and symbols with a similar content and significance are repeated over and over again. One might easily say: "But this is just what arose some time past; the same problem, the same subjective feeling or situation." It is so, but one learns that the psychic processes move according to a certain rhythm. One particular aspect of the personality is presented under this or that symbolic formulation, which is worked out according to the individual associations, and when the person is productive it can appear in all disguises. The conscious grasp and assimilation of the significance of this material allow its importance to subside, the tension of the libido is released, and immediately another aspect of the need of the personality is presented. This is worked through as before and thus the analysis proceeds so that the first subject seems left far behind. But inevitably after a longer or shorter time it will arise again to be worked with—and a new level is attained.

Thus a continual round is presented something like a spiral in its movement and form. This work proceeds entirely according to its own laws and no conscious effort to force this or that issue is of any avail. There is a continual movement of the libido and the most important psychological need of the moment for the person is activated and appears in the ma-

terial put forth. In this way in turn every aspect of the psyche, every problem of the life will appear in its variations and transformations. The entire process of creative activity appears before one in all its different forms, and a creative synthesis takes place before one's eyes. It is during analysis that one learns how many of the problems of external life have really no independent existence, but are created by the individuals, their attitudes, desires, and reactions, themselves. This is perhaps one of the most extraordinary results of analysis, and is the justification of the rule, that no important undertaking, no change or vitally effective issue should be dealt with in a positive or irrevocable manner during the analysis. For the individual may stand in a totally different relation to the particular problem after analysis from where he stood before and it may assume quite another significance. The judgment is altered because the emotional attitudes change, or the thought processes are separated from the feeling relations and can act more freely; the real capacities or needs of the individual have become clearly defined, or the person has gained an altogether new outlook on life.

In this changing, growing, and developing personality in which the emphasis is placed on the individual, on his essential being rather than on his doing, we have the closest analogy to the natural process that takes place in the child as he is developing towards adulthood. The individual gains another opportunity, this time with a body of experience behind him and a conscious-willed intention taking part in the process. His physical maturity and the insight gained through experience are his aids, the bad mental habits and faulty reactions are his hindrances, but it is something to know that there is a possibility of breaking these up and of replacing nature with a consciously chosen self-nurture.

IX

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS FOR THE SPIRITUAL LIFE

Any study of human psychology that ignores or avoids what has been the supreme object and creation of the human mind, its religious faith and beliefs, neglects the most universal and important of its achievements. A study of the beginnings of the religious feelings and conceptions and the gradual development of religious ideas and forms enables one to follow the process of mental evolution in the life of man. For it is certain that in his religous ideals man has embodied not only that which he is, but also his intuitions of that which it is possible for him to become.

In recent years much has been made of the discoveries that the primary emotions, fear, sex, self-preservation, and self-exaltation lie at the basis of religious conceptions and feelings; and the assumption has followed that, because of this origin, religious values are necessarily discredited, and of no further worth.

As a matter of fact, man's belief in a personal power ordering the universe and concerned with the affairs of the individual, a power which he could love and to which he could appeal, has been the great stimulus objectively conditioned which has lured and led him on to all his great achievements. Even though produced originally by his childish wish for a protecting power, there existed in him at the same time a psychological necessity for an object greater than himself and beyond himself to which he must do homage; for, through this discipline and effort at association with the unseen, the organization of definite psychic functions and processes was attained.

That this object existed first on the physiological level in

the persons of the parents merely emphasizes the fact of the primary physiological conditioning of all psychological phenomena, but in no way robs the latter of a significance in itself. The father in relation to the child does possess in the beginning all the attributes conceived of as superior to itself. Therefore, in the projection into the world of a God who could take on the attributes of power, omnipotence, and primary cause not possessed by man himself, and modeled on the infantile image of the father, he creates that object by which it is possible to continue to live and to develop those higher potentialities within himself. But this is only true so long as this object is warm, living, and near. For in the two great primary emotions of fear and love lie the motive power of all man's achievements. And for their activity the object is essential. Only thus can the creative libido be lured forth to the striving towards a further destiny.

No one can doubt that we are in the midst of a period of mental reaction to-day. The passing of this great cultural imago, which originally provided a point of departure outside himself through which his psychic evolution could proceed, has thrown man back upon himself and has produced the great feeling of weakness and helplessness everywhere in evidence. Much of the restlessness, neurotic manifestations, and mental disturbances which characterize our period are due to the discredit and loss of this great libido object.

The loss of religious faith in a personal God, residing somewhere outside of one's self, has produced the necessity, paradoxical as it seems, of removing the psychological emphasis from the outer circumstances and external aspect of life to the inner creative and becoming processes in the individual himself. This is the great spiritual need of modern man. For, in the inherent capacity for transforming and creating fresh combinations within the material of his environment lies the great meaning and value of human life; it makes possible nothing less than the attainment of a higher creative synthesis by man himself.

The recognition of the need for man to understand himself has long been possessed by the race, but until science and scientific methods had progressed far enough to assume the power of dogma sufficiently to displace the religious dogma which preceded it, and to develop at the same time a certain attitude of detachment and impersonality, little progress could be attained in the study of that most sensitive organism, the individual self-conscious human being.

Anthropologists state that, whenever a definite need has arisen in the history of human culture, there has also arisen means by which to satisfy it. The only requisite is that the need gain a sufficient intensity to dominate the subject. The urgency stimulates the psychic processes so that they create the supply. This can be verified unerringly in the individual life and the collective life represented by culture must needs follow the same general law.

The urgency of the need for self-knowledge during these last years has reached an intensity proportionate to the decline of religious faith, consequent upon the undermining of religions through scientific discovery. When the hand of the parent is withdrawn the assumption of individual responsibility becomes imperative. The necessity of self-direction produces the necessity for self-knowledge. We see, therefore, science most actively concerned with this problem, and the analysis of man from every aspect, both phylogenetically and ontogenetically, is occupying many minds. In the words of a biologist: "One of the most far-reaching themes which has ever occupied the mind of man is the problem of development."

> All that man now is, he has come to be without conscious human guidance. If evolution has progressed from the amœba to man without human interference, if the great progress from ape-like men to the most highly civilized races has taken place without conscious human control, the question may well be asked, Is it possible to improve on the natural method of evolution? It may not be possible to improve on the method of evolution and yet by intelligent action it may be possible to

> facilitate that method. Man cannot change a single law of nature but he can put himself into such relations to natural laws that he can profit by them.[1]

Thus modern science is constrained to concern herself with not only the subject of general human development upon the biological level, but the equally important particular psychological development which touches every struggling individual to-day.

It is true of science as of other products of the human mind that all its departments pass through the mythological phase. A few startling discoveries so stimulate the myth-weaving phantasy that, during the development of the young science, all sorts of bizarre notions are put forth as proved facts. Conceptions as far-fetched and impossible of verification as any religious or poetic claim are rapidly thrown off with that gay abandon of youthful fervor which the new vision stimulates; so that even in science we have examples of what are called great scientific mythologies. These extravagances of the imagination in no way touch, however, the fundamental values of science, which lie in her methods of approach to her problems.

Although psychoanalysis can hardly claim as yet complete scientific recognition, it is nevertheless under the banner of science rather than religion that it desires to march and it is to the scientific spirit that it owes its origin. It seems certain that many of the unproved interpretations and generalizations of psychoanalysis will at some future time take their place with the other scientific myths. But this does not discredit the value of the technic and its great contributions. Its advent as a process of individual investigation and study found a humanity needy and ready. The struggle of its early days for acceptance in no way negates this statement; for the violence of its rejection and the general reaction produced by its discoveries are only the history of every epoch-making advance in knowledge which upsets previously held theories.

[1] Conklin: *Heredity and Environment,* p. 416.

Its fundamental significance can almost be measured by the strength of the opposition engendered, for, in spite of the great antagonism shown by scientific men to its extreme theories, psychoanalysis has achieved a rapid and astounding progress. Its originator lived to see its influence permeate many departments of science as well as general culture, and its popular espousal might well produce the plea of Nietszche not to be judged by his disciples. In my opinion the significance of this popular espousal lies in the unconscious recognition that in the psychoanalytic technic we have an instrument which for the first time makes possible that further individual human development or creation of self by self which formerly depended upon "the grace of God" and was entirely bound up with religious creeds.

It is not the first time that a child has been born who passed beyond the limit of the parental plans and broke away from their control. Therefore, despite the energetic rejection which all Freudian analysts must make of this greater claim for psychoanalysis, and the strenuous efforts of its founder to confine its use to the limitations of his theories by asserting, "psychoanalysis is my creation," the greatness of the instrument is such and the necessity of man is so imperious that it will not be possible to succeed in holding it to this restriction.

Humanity has not been unmindful that it possessed discordant and inharmonious impulses even while it was claiming a special creation and a descent a little lower than the angels. That numerous company of persons who in all ages became conscious of their "evil wishes" (sins they were called), and who through religious rituals devoted their lives to the effort of overcoming the power of these impulses, bear a mute testimony to the moral necessity inherent in man. To gain a transformation of crude human impulse into higher forms and to attain those greater potentialities always dimly sensed, which science now tells us are immeasurable, has been the unconscious meaning of all the religious exercises, all the ethical and

moral strivings of man. "The potencies of development are much greater than the actualities." [1] "The potentialities of development in human souls are unfathomable." [2] These are two complementary statements, one from biology and one from psychology, which embody the intuitive perceptions of mankind and justify his age-long struggle.

The necessity for some reconciling, unifying principle through which an integration among the opposing and discordant tendencies in the individual man could be effected has been keenly felt whenever the man became sufficiently conscious of himself and of nature. It is true that in the collective unconscious morality does not exist, and that change and movement occur instead of progress. But in the contents of the personal unconscious the moral law plays a most important part and cannot be safely ignored by any one interested in his own welfare.

This is quite apart from the fact that the moral law is a collective or cultural product and is not an individual achievement created by the man himself. As Antigone says: "The moral law is sacred because it is not a thing of to-day or of yesterday but lives forever and none knows whence it sprang." And for this there exists a very good reason; it never sprang; it has been developed as man's greatest aid in his evolution and it has changed, therefore, as men have changed, increased through development or weakened through disintegration. This inner necessity for a reconciling principle underlies the growth and development of all religions regardless of their form. For religion is born of that necessity and is the fruit of the spiritual needs of man.

It is this dominating need which has caused him to cling so fiercely to his religious beliefs and customs, even defending them with his life. They provided the common denominator for all alike. There were no favorites; each could gain in proportion to that which he gave. Its value to any one man de-

[1] Conklin: *Heredity and Environment*, p. 471.
[2] James: *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 357.

pended upon how intimate and personal a thing his religious creed became in his life—in other words, how much of a personal libido object it could be.

For religion, as James so aptly puts it, "is concerned with man's private and personal destiny"; the particular reward or gift offered by the special creed is determined by the stage of emotional development and the psychological type of the people among whom it originated, and to whom it appealed.

From a study of the lives of mystics and from many other recorded experiences we may discover, in the struggles and emotional states which involved the total being, a use of the religious forms and beliefs as a special reconciling medium, through which there was gained a deepened consciousness and a more harmonious functioning on a level higher than that of the former discordant tendencies. When, however, instead of an interior personal relationship towards the religious symbols and conceptions, they represented merely a collective dogma or traditional form into which the person was born, their value was only that of authority and discipline imposed from without. They were accepted and responded to from fear, a process of an order similar to that of the child in relation to the parent or of the citizen in relation to the government. Whenever religion becomes externalized and formalized, so that the outer tangible aspect supersedes the inner spiritual process, then its unifying, transcendent power within the individual himself disappears or lessens in direct proportion to its objectification and intellectualization; it becomes transferred from *being* to thinking, and all that creative synthesis which it can provoke ceases to exist. In other words:

> When religion has become an orthodoxy its day of inwardness is over; the spring is dry and the faithful live at second hand exclusively and stone the prophets in their turn.[1]

Historical study and personal experience with individuals show that this is true not only of religion *per se* but of all re-

[1] James: *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 337.

form movements, new systems of social betterment and schemes for personal welfare, regardless of their intrinsic value. As long as they are imbued with the life and love of their devotees and possess the value of a personal libido object they exercise an influence capable of arousing courage and power in those whom they possess; but as soon as they lapse into merely a system, an external collective form, they become in turn like all others and their fate is similar.

It is very obvious that the dynamic power and value of an idea or cause, be it religious or secular, depend entirely upon its capacity to stimulate the creative libido in man. Its synthesizing achievement in the life of the individual is determined by his use of it; whether, in a private and personal way for his own development or, as is generally preferred, altruistically in making others good and applying it to them for their benefit (power motive).

In thus continuously emphasizing the claims of the individual as distinct from the collective demands or claims of others, there is no lack of recognition of the importance and even necessity of consideration for others—the altruistic Christian ideal. But, in the conscious zeal of the western world to do for others, the individuals have not realized that they also need to be done for, and that the only actual doing that brings achievement is what one does for oneself. The Christian admonition is "Love thy neighbor *as* thyself." However, if the self-love is of a childish, infantile character in which all the instinctive impulses of unredeemed primitive feeling exist, how is it possible to express something greater to others than that which is possessed for oneself? The emphasis, necessary as it has been in the past, has become too much placed upon the object and not enough upon the subject; therefore, we are constantly shocked to discover, intermingled with all the consideration and regard given to others, the crudely egotistic elements which are clearly revealed in the content of the personal unconscious.

The necessity has now arisen for frankly meeting this con-

dition in ourselves and, by recognizing that we are, inevitably, the most important subject for our own thought and effort, we can shift the emphasis from concern for others sufficiently to gain a greater self-consciousness and in this way make possible, as more evolved human beings, a kinder world for ourselves and for others.

It is the attitude of the individual towards the object rather than the object itself which is the important factor for him and, when the desired result is obtained, it is the new and harmonious relation within himself and towards life which gives the answer. In the Oriental religions, in spite of their impersonal character, we see the strongest emphasis placed upon the personal attitude of their devotees toward them and, in the elaborate ceremonies and ritual practices of these religions, we find the same underlying motives—the attainment by man of a higher consciousness and a harmony with the divine.

These religions, unlike the Christian religion, were not antagonistic to sexuality—indeed we find its phenomena frankly flourishing alongside all their worship and ritual and incorporated with them. To these minds sexuality was not impure or unclean and there seemed no incongruity in the admixture of sexual and religious symbolism. Indeed, in India, sexuality itself was made an object through which control and discipline could be gained by the man. In his management of the sexual act he learned to control the pleasure gain from the immediate physical sensation realm and to transfer it to the giving of pleasure to his partner. In this way he could free himself from the domination of this imperious impulse and, through making it subservient to the pleasure of another, it served him, gaining in this way both pleasure and power.

Man has always regarded his sexuality as something which had to be regulated and ordered and he has at all times feared its dominating influence. But, with the reaction from the pagan excesses during the period of the decline of Greece and Rome, Christianity went to the extreme opposite and regarded

sexuality as man's greatest foe. The transition had to be made from a fixation upon the external objective world, with its appeal to the senses and the sensual, to the inner subjective world for the purpose of effecting a separation between man and nature; and this could be done only through a denial of the senses.

Therefore the conflict waged hotly between the instinctive sensual desires and the higher psychic claims of the human being. All his efforts were directed towards managing his various impulses and desires; and the association of the devil with these sensuous promptings, as opposed to God and the immaterial soul, produced that personal struggle and painful state of consciousness upon which has been built the great repressive culture of our time.

For those to whom this problem was a reality and who met it with the same sincerity and devotion which we consider the ideal attitude toward science, the greatness of the achievement is unquestionable. For the mass of people, however, as always, the chief influence producing the repressive attitude characteristic of Christian culture was not an already increased self-consciousness and a voluntary turning toward self-mastery and a higher integration; it was the force of external culture, the current religious ideas and the authority in which all medieval thought was grounded, that compelled a greater self-consciousness.

Through the operation of the instinctive impulses, fear and aspiration, the individual was forced by a psychological necessity to take steps towards the overcoming of his bondage to impulse and to win that further separation of his individuality from the relation with nature. For identification with nature and her moods produces that flux and change, that uncertainty and insecurity in himself characteristic of irrational impulse, to which a power conceived of as absolute and stable and outside of himself is opposed.

The conception of himself as a special creation gave him the authority for achieving this differentiation. It is understand-

able that, as the handiwork of God, who also created him, he could admire and love nature apart from himself and could see in her ways a perfect order and system arranged entirely for his special benefit—however naïve and childlike these ideas seem to our modern thought.

Through the discipline and submission imposed upon collective man through fear of the loss of his soul, together with the longing of his soul toward greater man, a detachment of libido belonging to the direct sexual impulse was effected and, at the same time, sexuality itself was repressed into the unconscious.

Thus the repressed modern man has arisen. The weakening of the physical desires, which has followed the forced restriction imposed upon them, has allowed the energy belonging to the impulse to sink into the unconscious and, instead of being reborn into love, it has stimulated the intellect and has brought this to the fore. Thus also has arisen the capacity of modern man for criticism, for observation and examination which has led to our great scientific era.

As long, however, as all development proceeds collectively and not individually, authority, power, force from without must impress discipline upon man in the interests of his evolution; thus the mass is held from falling back into the chaotic and disorganized elements of the collective unconscious. At the same time, there is produced, in the minds of those individuals in whom a higher synthesis is possible, those necessary attendants of all new creation, conflict, struggle, and revolt.

The overthrow of external authority, which is the chief characteristic of present-day tendencies, has brought the modern mind to that state of questioning, uncertainty, and pessimism which appears to have characterized the Greeks and Romans at the height of their culture. That absence of authority for their thinking and for their life which is emphasized by students, finds a parallel in life to-day. It seems to lead to the same mental state which inevitably arises when, psychologically speaking, man is still too weak and insecure in himself to stand

alone. The great distinction is that we have arrived at this condition by the path of science instead of philosophy.

There is no possibility of historic human progress through collective movements. There is change, action, and reaction; but the energy of instinctive processes in mass action remains undifferentiated and thus incapable of attachment to objects not of immediate concern to the person. Consequently all appeals to humanity as a whole, based on the dangers of degeneracy or of extinction, produce little effect and do nothing to alter the condition. This is unavoidable, for it is only through the arousing of the individual to his own danger, to his own need, and to his latent possibilities that any effective impression can be made. To possess any permanent value for any one, his achievement must be made as an individual by himself and for himself. For the rest only authority and force produce any effect.

The upheaval in religious thought and feeling which has been gradually going on during the last one hundred years but which has reached a climax at the present time, can be measured by the rise of science.

In studying its development and the attitude of many of its devotees, one may see clearly repeated the same process through which religion has passed, the same psychology revealed as existed when religion was the object instead of science. The dogmatism and spirit of arrogance exhibited by many of the scientific-minded are similar to that which characterized previously the religious dogmatists. Even the language used bears the same character. And how can this be avoided when only the objects vary and no real psychic change has been produced in the individuals themselves?

Science began by claiming for itself the value of an agent and handmaiden of humanity, whose great contribution would be the increased welfare and happiness of human life; it predicted that it would prove to be a real savior of mankind in a way that religion had failed. Standing on these claims science

has marched triumphantly on its way, ignoring or disputing with religion, while entering more and more into the province claimed by religion and serving it better. The healing of the sick, the care of the criminal and the insane, the relief of pain, in fact all the duties included in the Sermon on the Mount have been carried on through the aid of science much more efficiently and humanely than was ever achieved by religion.

But this humane aim of science belongs to yesterday. In proportion to the rise of science has the decline of religion and religious faith occurred. The shock of the discovery that the universe is impersonal, that it is not ordered especially for man's welfare any more than for his injury, and that he as creature is part of it, containing within himself all its perverse and discordant elements as well as its beauty and harmonies, has had the effect of creating a resentment and a reaction in the minds of many, similar to a child's awakening to the discovery that his parents have a life of their own and that the world does not revolve around him.

With the recognition of himself as part of the great physical order of the universe and subject to the same laws, he now looks upon nature as his enemy which he must overcome if possible; otherwise nature will in the end overcome him. Instead of order and system in her realm he now sees chaos and anarchy. Beside her beauty ugliness stalks, and her greatness and power are forces to be dreaded. This spirit is breathed in the famous words of Balfour quoted by James.

> The energies of our system will decay, the glory of the sun will be dimmed, and the earth, tideless and inert, will no longer tolerate the race which has for a moment disturbed its solitude. Man will go down into the pit, and all his thoughts will perish. The uneasy consciousness which in this obscure corner has for a brief space broken the contented silence of the universe, will be at rest. Matter will know itself no longer. "Imperishable monuments" and "immortal deeds," death itself, and love stronger than death, will be as if they had not been. Nor will anything that is be better or worse for all that the

labor, genius, devotion, and suffering of man have striven through countless ages to effect.[1]

The same refrain runs through these words from a recent book on popular science:

> She is our treacherous and unsleeping foe ever to be watched and feared and circumvented, for at any moment and in spite of all our vigilance she may wipe out the human race by famine, pestilence, or earthquake, and within a few centuries obliterate every trace of its achievement.[2]

Could anything provide a greater contrast between the two modes of thought; that of religion and science—from a dependent, trusting, childlike attitude which associated nature with God, the highest good, and found her beneficent and kindly, to the critical, arrogant attitude of young manhood which dethrones God, the father, and becomes the enemy of Nature, the mother? Truly occidental man is arriving at the adolescent conflict!

This has been the general tenor of the thought of those who, having lost God through science, now project the evil, once called Devil, upon the universe. In the pessimism engendered they reveal the same attitude in the opposite direction as was formerly held under the sway of optimism, born out of the belief in a good God. It is still not recognized by the majority that all natural processes and collective feelings include both aspects and that one is as true as the other, both God and Devil being supreme symbols of antithesis for the human mind, and both always existing at the same time.

"Wherever danger (evil) is greatest God is near." The disappearance of an external God, of an over-soul, wise and omnipotent, personally responsible for man's destiny and upon whom he could depend as a child upon a parent, forces upon him the necessity for an adult attitude, the responsibility for

[1] James: *Pragmatism*, p. 104.
[2] Slosson: *Creative Chemistry*.

himself. Therefore we find this actually representing the great problem of the individual of our time.

It has become very evident that the banishment of infantile ideas and conceptions has not banished infantile feelings and psychic needs. The emotional reactions of those who have espoused science in place of religion, and who pride themselves on their intellectual superiority to these old beliefs, reveal only too frequently the most childish and irrational character and lead us to the recognition of the fact that the development of being and the development of thinking are two distinct processes in no way including each other.

Christian beliefs which have been the conscious religious culture for two thousand years are now gradually sinking into the unconscious just as the pagan beliefs preceding Christianity became finally detached from the conscious thought of the time and disappeared into the unconscious. We know, however, that they reappeared changed and transformed and wearing the garb of the new spirit. In the same way the religious spirit of our culture is passing into the scientific spirit and possesses a similar relation towards it.

The process occurring in the individual follows the same law, and through psychoanalysis we are able to discover in the unconscious all the discarded remnants of previous realities and conceptions. We know from psychoanalytic experience that they all possess a definite symbolic significance, important for the psychic development of the individual when they are interpreted in terms of the personal life instead of collective culture. When anything sinks into the unconscious without being adequately assimilated and transformed, even though consciousness is free from the problem, the individual is still under its influence and has achieved no inner freedom whatsoever. Indeed he is often more affected by it because its influence is indirect and unrecognized. Thus the liberation from childish conceptions, of which the intellect is so proud, constitutes no freedom when the same inner psychic condition which gave birth to the conceptions exists, and merely expresses itself in another

form or under another disguise. The need is still unsatisfied, only now the libido is engaged in its negative aspect of actively attacking the old doctrine, or in attempting to prove the falsity or evil effects of its teaching, while the same underlying attitude is revealed as before.

This condition under the psychoanalytic technic appears as a commonplace phenomenon and can be demonstrated any day. And if one desires an obvious example in modern life, the case of Nietzsche affords an overwhelming illustration. A careful study of his life and personality clearly reveals that in himself he embodied the conscious virtues taught by Christianity—the repression of impulse, the kindliness and gentleness in his personal relations, the restraint, and love of truth and order, while at the same time he was intellectually the enemy of Christianity. In turning from Christianity to classicism he ignored the classic spirit of restraint and harmony and instead exalted the pagan Dionysius, because in himself the spirit of life was inhibited and crushed under the weight of the collective morality which he called Christian asceticism. While railing most fiercely against Christian virtue and the monkish attitude he lived the life of the ascetic as much as any monk. His blindness to his own inner conflict is clearly revealed when he expressly states that he has no personal problem with morality or Christianity. He means no conscious problem and that is his misfortune, for thus he could only express it collectively through intellect but not in life, and in his last expiring cry before his personal disintegration, his *Ecce Homo,* in which he reveals so poignantly his tragedy, he says of his Dionysian nature that "it knows not how *to separate the negative deed* from the *saying* of the yea." The chasm between the recognition of a truth and its actual solution in life—in the individual life—is nowhere more visible than in the pathetic Nietzsche.

Thus the type of culture changes, and man does not until he actually recognizes his stage of development and directs his libido towards his individual need, the achievement of a ma-

turity and of a synthesis which will render the antagonisms or active attacks as unnecessary as the opposite attitude of fanatical belief. It is the enormous discrepancy between the conscious intellectual attainment and the emotional and feeling development that produces the great contrast in the psychology of the individuals of our time and is responsible for the pessimism everywhere evident. For man is not psychologically ready to accept for himself the responsibility forced upon him.

The cultural movement of an age proceeds, however, regardless of the individual and his capacities to meet it, in the same way that nature disregards him. The old condition cannot be recovered; he is forced to follow the new path or, if unable to do so, to sink back into the great regression which leads to death.

Now for us what is the new path? It is indicated everywhere about us and is clearly visible in the general tendencies manifested in science, art, and literature—the path of individual responsibility—the path of moral autonomy. For we are finally face to face with the recognition that the determinants of our destiny lie within us, and that we actually possess not only the possibilities but the creative capacity for the achievement of a higher consciousness and a more abundant life.

If Conklin's hypothesis that: "Indeed the production of unique individuals seems to be the chief purpose and result of sexual reproduction," [1] is correct, then it certainly becomes the definite task, biologically determined, of the human individual to apply his knowledge and capacity towards the development of his own unique potentialities, and it is in the subjective realm instead of in the objective behavior, that it is necessary for him to work out his right to be different.

The organization of a quantity of libido into a firm and definite entity, the soul, capable of relating him adequately to his inner life, as the ego organization of an adapted person

[1] Conklin: *Heredity and Environment,* p. 163.

relates him adequately to the objective world, and the achievement of a harmonious synthesis between the ego and the soul, form the actual psychological purpose of all religious teaching and of all scientific effort as well, in so far as it is concerned with the welfare of the human being himself. For it is a fact which psychoanalysis reveals definitely and unmistakably that the actual disturbance of the individual to-day is involved with the problem of the soul. Equally, perhaps, can the man of the past be said to have been involved with the problem of the soul but, as the concept of the soul has always been dependent upon the religious beliefs of the people, it was in a different sense from that of the modern. His interest was a clearly conscious one and was concerned with the fate of his soul—not with its unreality. There was no question in his mind that he possessed a soul; it was a very tangible and concrete object to him, which but a few years ago he attempted to grasp with the senses, to weigh and measure as is done with all sensuous objects. Psychological reality was unrecognized; the senses only were considered the determiners of reality. Therefore he provided a tangible place for its abode and an endless existence for his soul, under conditions of bliss or torment according to the law of compensation, all modeled upon his sensuous perceptions and representing his stage of psychological development.

It matters little that less and less thought was given to the soul's needs, and that people became almost wholly absorbed in activities concerned with the sensuous life; it remained a real object whenever occasion arose for remembering it. But as conscious concern with it grew less, the new religion of scientific theory grew stronger and it had no place for a soul. The realization of their loss has come suddenly to many, to others a gradual awakening to its significance has occurred; the soul no longer has existence as a tangible reality and to the majority this is the only reality.

Science has thus performed the destructive but necessary task in the realm of man's beliefs—necessary, if any greater

psychic development is possible (and those unlimited potentialities which science tells us exist make this no visionary dream): destructive, because all the old ideas of the soul, of religions, of God—the great hierarchy upon which man has depended so long—have fallen into ruin. The childish conceptions and faith are scorned and mocked and we see scores of serious people trying to live as though the loss did not affect them but all the while the pessimistic refrain grows louder. What is the meaning of human life and what is its use? This question runs as a deep undercurrent through all.

The difficulty lies, as before stated, in the fact that the actual psychological development of man as a unity is no greater than his least developed function, than the beliefs which he has created and held; the scorning of them is the scorning of himself and the significance of their loss is the significance of any disturbing and painful experience; it provides the opportunity for self-examination, for conscious self-feeling and introversion —all necessary steps towards any psychic growth and creative achievement.

But this aspect is one not generally considered; therefore, in the sense of loss the painful element is the one most dominant, and in the present great collective regression which overshadows all, the loudest voices are those pointing out the primitive elements, the instinctive wishes, the "segmental cravings" and the mechanical functioning of the human organism, which is finally disposed of with a reference to it as merely a higher ape. All man's great creative work is no more than the disguised expression of his instinctive wishes and exists as a means of their gratification, otherwise, through a mysterious power, denied.

The wish is in disrepute and its significance as the symbol of the creative power of man is ignored; the main interest is centered on the dissecting, tearing apart, and analyzing of the individual as well as his work, in order to discover the physical machinery and the original instinct at the core. Thus the wish comes in for something of the general scorn which is expressed

in the words "it's only a wish." Logically it follows that to regard the wish as something childish or unworthy is to scorn and negate its productions and indeed the whole creative capacity of man, his world of culture, his creations in art, philosophy, science, and invention. And, continuing, all that does not exist to-day in sensuous form possesses only the value of a wish! But what actually is this value?

Grant that the aspirations and formulations intuitively created by the poet, the philosopher, and the thinker have no more basic foundations than a wish. Has not the wish been the most potent creative stimulus of man? Has not his whole great culture and stupendous external achievement arisen primarily from a wish, and can it not be said that the multitudinous forms through which the creative activity in nature expresses itself in the external world are the result of nature's wish—a great cosmic desire fulfilling itself in the infinitely varied and endless numbers of living forms? Because we are unconscious of this wish and cannot measure it or perceive it through our senses we prefer to deny its existence, even though we have had the experience in modern times of discovering that many of our own wishes or desires were unconscious and unrecognized by ourselves. Nevertheless they existed and were the motive power of products which seemed far removed from their source.

It is forgotten that wishes have dynamic power; that words and symbols are the energy carriers of humanity of far greater force than all the physical forms of energy measured in foot-pounds in the world. The thought or imaginative vision, the wish of one man thrown out into the world has traveled down the ages gathering energy as it sped, firing other men's minds and producing greater effects in action than the measurable strength of regiments of men.

Mankind possesses many wishes. But there is one great and universal wish expressed in all religions, in all art and philosophy, and in all human life; *the wish to pass beyond himself as he now is,* the wish for a further attainment, for a new

consciousness or a new state of being in which that greater unity and more harmonious psychic integration longed for, is an achieved reality.

Its realization has been pushed away to an after-death condition, and its imagery expressed in sensuous forms on account of the lack of other experience or functions for its expression; consequently the intuition has been disregarded as belonging to the individual here and now. And to-day, as the latest result of the modern investigation into the psychology of man and his discordant being, we are told that this wish for a harmonious becoming is merely the organic memory of a prebirth state. According to this assumption therefore, the wish which has stimulated and soothed millions is no more than a regressive phenomenon signifying the desire for repetition of a former pleasurable state. I believe that we have direct evidence against this as a complete explanation.

The hedonistic aim as the dominant motive ruling humanity is an old conception, which expresses a partial view on the physiological level. It is true that as far as they are aware of their aims, many people do so express themselves either in a direct statement or in their conduct and behavior. But motives of conduct and human purposes must be sought in deeper psychic realms than the obvious and superficial, and it cannot be a peculiarity only of the people whom I have investigated that, always beneath the immediate appearance and in the deepest layer of the unconscious, lies the universal desire for a greater self towards which all effort is primarily directed. Even though its manifestations occur in the purely objective form of material gain, or in the elementary forms represented by the three great general drives so commonly used as the basis of explanation of all human behavior—preservation of self, propagation of species and relation to group—always the deeper meaning has been revealed as a desire to push beyond the self, and it is this aim which was symbolically represented in the material or sensuous form. To offer another desire based on a more elementary experience which lies behind, *i.e.*,

the parents, as an explanation of this drive or urge is like denying independence to the phenomenon of growth itself and limiting it to a secondary position; whereas all life teaches us its primary significance. In the human being this inherent power of growth, which ceases at a definite point on the physiological level and thereafter occupies itself in maintenance and renewal, continues its progressive activity on the psychological level. Psychic growth is as valid as physical growth and its material manifestations are the efforts of man to better his position in life, to increase his power or to enhance his value through possessions, and we discuss the motives underlying this as the desire to shine in the eyes of his fellows or as egotistic claims.

All these motives may play a part, for the particular form that is used to embody the drive partakes largely of the cultural values emphasized by his particular environment. In a society where money, clothes, material comforts, are made the basis of value, the winning of these aims will appear as the chief external purpose of the striving. In another society where the highest values lie in esthetic forms or educational ideals, the drive appears under this guise. But an investigation of these ambitions invariably reveals that they but embody the deep underlying purpose which can only express itself according to the stages of psychic evolution attained and the cultural development with which they are identified.

That the particular gain, regardless of the form, does not bring the hoped-for satisfaction and happiness is only too well known and common an experience, and lends weight to the statement that, actually, this imagined desire is not the real aim but only a symbol; in this light the absence of the expected satisfaction becomes clear. For the reality is concealed and hidden within the symbol, which functions in two directions.

The truth of this statement can be verified by a reference to the typical psychological mechanism of the introverted types. Although these individuals may act as eager and desirous of ex-

pressing their inner psychological needs through material forms as the extraverts, nevertheless, in the character of their striving which we call "the will to power," it is most obvious to any one who gives the matter careful study that this is not the reality desired. Where the power and enhancement of the ego through objective success is actually the goal and becomes the real purpose of the individual, he will guide his conduct directly in accordance with his aim and when this is achieved he will feel the corresponding satisfaction and ease which accompany a fulfilled impulse—he accepts his goal. But in the case of the type characterized by a "will to power," as contrasted with the desire for actual power, this goal of satisfaction is never obtained, for the real goal is not the attainment of objective power or sensuous satisfactions as it appears to be, but lies in the effort itself. Therefore when the apparent end is gained, although great energy may have been expended in the attainment which just before seemed absolutely necessary even for life itself, it soon becomes evident that this was an illusion, for the expected satisfaction and fulfilment does not materialize; or if something of the kind does appear, it is of such short duration that it can be ignored as negating the general statement.

This is the great difference between actual desire for power as an end in itself and a "will to power." Through these individuals in whom the ego and not the object is the important factor, one learns with certainty that the real purpose of the striving is nothing less than that higher psychic organization and greater unity dreamed of by man. Because of the orientation of his senses towards the external world it has been impossible for man to realize that the words of the great seers have been literally true, "The kingdom of heaven is within." In other words, that the happiness and freedom so eagerly sought can only be found in the subjective realm, in the individual's own higher consciousness. This consciousness, while not ignoring the necessity and value of the actual needs of the organism and its relation to and dependence upon the phenom-

enal world, recognizes them as the supporting framework, not as containing in themselves the reality sought.

The whole art of life can be resolved into the capacity for discrimination as to what proportion of external reality, as it exists for the individual, he must accept and adapt to and what part he must reject and refuse to accept, creating for himself a new condition and a new reality.

Psychoanalysis has been able to throw an illuminating light upon the origin of many of man's wishes and desires, and not the least of its achievements has been to reveal the existence of a rhythm and an organic relation between his development in the physical realm and his attainments and future possibilities in the psychic realm. The whole process of psychic development is seen to follow a kind of spiral movement in which there is a recurrent return to former states having the closest analogy to the actual physical conditions experienced. Thus in all psychical development there is a close relationship with the physical processes but *not an identity*.

Through man's capacity for psychic creation he has attained a power for individual development which in its becoming follows like a shadow the actual physical processes lived through, but which possesses a reality of its own as important for human life as the actual physical processes are for all organic life. It is this reality so frequently expressing itself in the language of organic reality which must be recognized for any understanding of human needs. The light that psychoanalysis has provided has revealed a new meaning to many of the great intuitions of the past, and has shown unmistakably that they possess a validity and reality in relation to the individual life wholly unrealized by thought, but entirely realizable in the human being.

Thus we can perceive the great value and significance of the magic practices and the fetish worship of the primitives which preceded that which we call religion, and which, as James points out, has as great a right to be called primitive science as primi-

tive religion. They were the beginnings out of which both arose and, as the product of the psychological development of the primitive man, they possessed the germ of the creative thought which flowered in the East in the great religions of the world, all of which have been produced by the subjectively attuned Oriental mind.

Now there is one great distinction between the greatest Oriental religions, those of India, and the religion of the West. The former thrust all responsibility entirely upon the individual; the operation of the law of Karma is as definite and immutable as any mechanical force in nature; the supreme power is impersonal and sublime. Through endless deaths and rebirths coupled with great effort and self-consciousness man might eventually attain to a state of bliss free from the domination of desire, a lofty impersonal attitude far removed from ordinary life. Everything depends upon his own effort in this conception, for there exists no loving compassionate Father or Elder Brother upon whom he can trustfully lean. This is a religion of the intellect, demanding as stern a facing of subjective reality as science demands of objective reality.

But the Christian religion, which has dominated Western culture for the past two thousand years, took another path. It laid a particular emphasis upon the personal element and introduced the love motive as distinguished from the sexual, placing its greatest emphasis upon the submission of the ego to this higher love.

In the placing of the accent upon the emotional elements, love, pity, tenderness, compassion, and stressing brotherly love, there began that definite effort at the transformation of the crude instinctive desire both ego and sexual, which has characterized our culture. Instead of killing desire and becoming impersonal as India's religion taught, Christianity taught that desire was to be raised, sexuality transmuted into love, and egotistic claims into an inclusive general consideration for one's neighbor. The new note was the child-parent relation, the most fundamental affectional bond in life, and the transforming

power was removed from the self-preservative instinct of fear and put upon the self-sacrificing instinct of love. The emphasis was placed on the personal relation to be achieved between the individual and the supreme being and in the consciousness of sin, the deep introversion, the pain and struggle through which the individual must pass to the attainment of this relation, we find a spiritual experience similar to that of the Hindoo believer.

The distinction lies chiefly in the conception of the personal being who, out of love and consideration, stoops to help the sinner to attainment so that he can say "not through my power but thine." In this way, through the transferring of the burden to an Over-power, man became humble before it, and thus could gain the necessary separation between himself as a fragment of the whole, yet a distinct entity in himself, and the rest of life with which, in common with all primitives, he was in mystic relation. Besides this the generally extraverted character of the Western mind, with its emphasis on creative action and its dislike for the abstract thinking which dominated the mind of India, gave to the span of this life the attainment of salvation in a very direct fashion, instead of postponing it to the long process through endless time which characterized the East. It is possible that this concentration on the immediate and the present of the Christian religion has been an important factor in leading the Occidental mind to the scientific quest. For the Christian religion can be called the mother of science. Through the discipline and influence it exercised upon the minds of the West they turned from the religious concern about man himself to questioning and inquiry about God, and about the origin and purpose of the world.

For just as religion is the finest flower of the Oriental mind, wholly subjectively determined and concerned entirely with man's personal destiny, so is science the great achievement of the Occidental mind. It belongs to the West as religion belongs to the East. It is entirely objectively determined and prides itself on its impersonal attitude and lack of concern over

man's destiny. Religion is orientated chiefly towards man's future and its main interest is in his becoming. It has led him to the finding of himself. Science on the other hand is orientated chiefly to the past and its main interest is in the how he has become. It is leading him to the finding of himself. Strange as it may seem, science, though the offspring of the Christian religion, appears to lead directly towards the spirit of the Oriental religions. It inculcates the same spirit of impersonality and detachment from the wishes and concerns of man, and demands that its devotees attain to that complete disregard of self which has caused the religion of the Orient to be called the religion of pessimism.

Science began enthusiastically and eagerly but, as its discoveries brought man more and more into the recognition of his place in the universe and of the existence of great immutable laws having no regard for him whatsoever, he was forced from his position of personal security, and towards a greater disregard of motives of personal need and desire. His eagerness and enthusiasm in the pursuit of his investigations began to change to a serious attitude as he became thoughtful and realized the significance of his deductions and theories. From a belief in which the entire foundations of life were enveloped he has come to a recognition that this has no tangible validity and that as far as any knowledge of the religious fundamentals are concerned he has none. He can only say with the mystic, whatever the mind can think of, be sure God is not that.

The realization of man's place in the universe has produced very diverse reactions. For with the growth of knowledge the psychic processes do not necessarily change, and the same types of persons who formerly were the believers and worshipers of the religious ritual and formulas, the hypothesis instead of the living experience, are to be found now enrolled as scientists. They accept scientific hypotheses and unproved theories with the fervor and belief formerly given to theology, rather than as a means leading to understanding. Instead of gaining humility

over the vastness of the problem science has presented for study, and the infinitesimal amount known in comparison, there is revealed an attitude towards this subject similar to that held by many theologians of the past. As one writer expresses it:

> Science has as firmly put her stamp upon the intellectual culture and the practical organization of our time as ever had theology upon the civilization of the middle ages.[1]

And like theology it holds the possibility of becoming as great an enemy of human happiness and an even more terrible one, for it has no sanction or curb, no central figure to exercise a restraining influence upon it and, dark and terrible, alien and inhuman as impersonal nature appears to some, it is nothing to the monstrous cruelty and misery that man by the use of science can inflict upon his kind. Nevertheless, judging the ideals of science by the conceptions of its greatest exponents no more lofty aims or greater demands upon men were ever enunciated by religion than science requires.

As a result of the recognition that religions and faith have grown from man's desires and needs, science has emphasized the necessity for her purpose that men become impersonal; that they examine and accept facts as facts regardless of human implications and thus escape from the influence of the heated desires, longings, and aspirations of human kind.

> The scientific attitude of mind involves the sweeping away of all other desires in the interest of the desire to know—it involves suppression of hopes and fears, loves and hates, and the whole subjective emotional life, until we become subdued to the material, able to see it frankly, without preconceptions, without bias, without any wish to see it other than as it is, and without any belief that what it is must be determined by some relation, positive or negative to what we should like it to be, or to what we can easily imagine it to be.[2]

[1] Hoernlé: *Studies in Metaphysics*, p. 29.
[2] Russell: *Mysticism and Logic*, p. 44.

In these words Bertrand Russell expresses the demand of science for the great renunciation and at the same time tells us that "only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair can the soul's habitation henceforth be safely built."

> How in such an alien and inhuman world can so powerless a creature as man preserve his aspirations? A strange mystery it is that nature omnipotent but blind, in the revolutions of her secular hurryings through the abysses of space, has brought forth at last a child subject still to her power, but gifted with sight, with knowledge of good and evil, with the capacities of judging all the works of his unthinking Mother.

The note of despair here sounds strangely alien to the ear attuned to Christian faith, but I have quoted this passage from the famous *A Free Man's Worship* to show by what means science has brought her devotees to the religious attitude here implied. For this scientific ideal of impersonality and devotion to truth regardless of the cost and without any immediate reward is not original with science but appeared long ago in connection with the oldest and most transcendent religious teachings of India. Here, the attainment of this attitude is the goal of the "seer," "the enlightened one," and the religious words describing this attitude will serve equally well for science.

> The mind of pure devotion
> Cast equally aside good deeds and bad
> Passing above them.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore, thy task prescribed
> With spirit unattached gladly perform,
> Since in performance of plain duty man
> Mounts to his highest bliss.

The extraordinary thing about this new religion of the West which we call science is, that, although it has dissipated all our previously held religious dogmas, it is gradually bringing us to the recognition of the necessity of that attainment which has

always been a mystic experience. But this lofty conception is an ideal towards which the human aspires and is a psychic attainment as much to-day, with science as the goal luring man on, as ever it was in the past with the salvation of man himself as the goal. Further, the achievement of this aim can only be gained through a discipline and personal effort such as was necessary when they were the means used for the attainment of the religious ideal. For a change in being does not occur through thinking about it but through an actual creative process in which all the psychic functions participate.

All religions provided rituals and various practices by means of which man could gain help towards the attainment of this great purpose, whatever it was called. Science provides no ritual for her devotees but, in the spiritual desolation to which she leads her thoughtful sons, there is contained all the elements characteristic of the great regression which is the preliminary stage of all spiritual regeneration. Whether the condition is described as a religious experience, of which we have many records, or whether it is the experience of a man of science aiming to attain the ideal scientific spirit, it bears the same mark.

> Except for those rare spirits that are born without sin, there is a cavern of darkness to be traversed before the temple can be entered. The gate of the cavern is despair, and its floor is paved with the gravestones of abandoned hopes. There self must die; there the eagerness, the greed of untamed desire must be slain, for only so can the soul be freed from the empire of Fate.[1]

This breathes the very spirit of Oriental religion, that which was called by the West the religion of despair, and treated as a strange and inhuman doctrine. Let us examine the conception of the "killing of desire."

First and foremost, if it were possible to kill desire, science herself would cease to exist. For the great desire "to know," into which so many other desires are fused, is the very cause of

[1] Russell: *Mysticism and Logic.*

its existence. It is this desire that has led man on to all his discoveries and, in the realm of desire, its possession distinguishes him from all other animals. Desire is a generic term synonymous with life itself. When desire ceases, active creative life ceases, for only in death is desire non-existent. This ideal accounts for the stagnation in those introverted countries where the torments and binding power of desire are resisted and considered evil. But the torment of desire is the torment of creation and in this activity lie all the possibilities of making actual those unfulfilled potentialities which science has taught us we possess.

Therefore coincident with the demand of science for that higher psychic attainment which can be gained only through the transmutation of desire, there has arisen a technic, a method by which the individual is enabled to gain a real knowledge of his psychological status and a recognition of the forces and impulses lying behind his behavior and attitudes.

His introspection can now become constructive and, in the new attitude towards himself as well as towards others, lies the germ of the new creative attainment and the possibilities of the creation of a new humanity itself.

Through the application of this technic there have been produced all those psychic states known as mystic experiences which formerly were associated with the religious life, without the necessity of creed or faith or the use of religious rituals. It is science's offering in place of the religious beliefs which she has transformed. It places in man's hands an instrument which he can use to gain that self-knowledge and stimulation of his creative forces necessary for establishing that new and better relation with the universe which follows any fuller and higher use of capacities lying as potentialities within him. It lends itself to any goal he may desire and its limitations are the limitations which the man himself imposes.

In keeping with all great methods of either scientific or religious character, it also contains the possibilities of deception and of destruction. Therefore, in one of the disparaging

criticisms cast upon psychoanalysis, the accusation of its being only a cult, there is contained a note of danger and a warning. For no greater misfortune could befall psychoanalysis than for it to become a cult or for something to be placed upon it other than its actual value—that of a psychological method by means of which that which is hidden is brought to light and the understanding of human psychological processes is made possible.

Its nature partakes more of the Christian ideals than of the Oriental conceptions, for its emphasis is on the love element, the creative process, rather than on the demand of the ego for power: the intellect is used as the servant of the individual instead of his master. It provides in itself the mediating principle through which man can gain a recognition on a new basis of the value of his psychological world subjectively determined, as well as of the concrete world of tangible objects; and in the recognition of the validity of each there arises the possibility of a higher synthesis. It gives him a means towards the understanding of the relationship between the symbol, that great product of man's psychology through which all his development proceeds, and the actual object, the product of nature.

It affords an understanding of the great synthetic rôle of the sexual impulse raised to love and, in revealing so clearly as it does the great part this impulse has played in all religion, art, and every creative activity of man, we are brought to the realization that in despising sexuality we are despising that which holds all the possibilities of the future, and is the impulse which provides the power for that creative synthesis in the life of man. The advantages of religion were chiefly to be gained in a future state but the advantages that psychoanalysis offers belong to the here and now, for the faith that is required is faith in himself and the transforming power within life.

I am under no illusion regarding the tremendous difficulties and obstacles connected with this greatest of man's tasks, obstacles different from those belonging to any other effort of man, because inherent both in the subject to be effected and in the object, the instrument, through which the transformation

is induced. Thus he can be most easily tricked and deceived by himself through the very psychic functions which make possible his understanding and, in this tragic play of hide and seek with himself, he becomes the dupe of himself.

But it has not been the part of the striving spirit of man to be turned back by difficulties. He has now apparently arrived at the borderland of that supreme necessity, self-creation; and involved in his attitude towards this task lies an answer to the great, urgent question of this present time, and of all time—the future of humanity.

THE END

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